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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this report is to outline how a combined ethnographic and sociolinguistic study of an exemplary bilingual education program in the Navajo community of Rock Point may help rationally explain how community people have determined what they want from a bilingual program and what sort of issues they face to achieve these goals. After an introduction, section 2 describes using a systematic interview and observation to obtain viewpoints from parents and staff about their school's education and a sketch of why Rock Point was selected. Section 3 provides an overall description of the Navajo Reservation and Rock Point community. Section 4 presents a cognitive ethnographic description of the overall educational philosophy which evolved from the interaction between the developing school program and parental involvement, such as parental ideals for their children and perceptions of the school's impact. The Rock Point program is described in Section 5 focusing on how it works, its educational philosophy, and key impacts. Section 6 reviews the issues that were faced and surmounted by the community during the development of the program. In conclusion, an overall review of this report is presented in Section 7. The appendix contains a comparison of schools on the Navajo Reservation. (ERB)

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FINAL REPORT NIE C 400 80 0012

ETHNOGRAPHIC AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF AN EXEMPLARY BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAM ON THE NAVAJO RESERVATION:

THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF A NAVAJO EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY AT ROCK POINT COMMUNITY SCHOOL (TSE NITSAA DEEZ'AHI DINE BI'OLTA)

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Executive Director

MAY 28, 1982

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Special note should also be made for Dillon Platero, the Principal Investigator for the project, for his guidance and pioneering in these educational and research endeavors. His place in the authorship listing does not equitably describe the magnitude or value of his contributions.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

The Navajo Reservation, covering a land area larage: than the state of West Virginia, is home to approximately 170,000 Navajo people. The Reservation is divided into 106 chapters, each of which is governed through local participation in chapter-house meetings. Each chapter elects a representative to the Navajo Tribal Council, which meets in Window Rock, Arizona, the Capital of the Navajo Nation.

The Navajos comprise the largest population of Native Americans who still speak their original language, and because of the large proportion of these people under the age of 20, over 80,000 Navajos are in school. The diversity of educational institutions serving these people include the BIA schools (which ontain about 25,000 students); the public schools (which contain about 50,000 students); the community-controlled contract schools (which serve about 2,500 students); and a number of mission and placement programs which serve the remaining 2,500.

Navajos tribal leaders and local community people, at the chapter levels, have desired increasingly to assume control of these educational systems in a manner sufficient to ensure that their children get a quality education. Among other things, this quality education has meant that children would be able to adapt to modern life without losing a unique identity which has so far enabled them to maintain at least a marginal economic and

social viability. Efforts toward such control have proceeded slowly, at best, because Navajos have had to come to terms with identifying just what sort of education (or variety of education) is best to effect this viability in their children, and how to ensure that this education is delivered adequately.

This report is a description of a well-estabalished, or exemplary, program in Navajo education. Among other things, this means that bilingual education comprises the center around which the rest of the educational program is integrated. It is not simply a part of some other program, or programs, within the school system. The program is located at Rock Point, a Navajo chapter, and the school there is a community-controlled contract school. The report describes

A. how community and staff developed a conceptualization of the kind of education they want for their children, in part by watching how their program affected the performance of their children; and

B. how, in turn, the program responded to this conceptualization in its curriculum development, classroom teaching approach, and development of relationships between school and community.

This study elucidated these two interacting phenomena through a cognitive interviewing approach which first elicited the program's impacts on the children. From these impacts the researchers could then elicit the educational philosophy which makes sense of these impacts.

EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

The educational philosophy, like the impacts which people discussed, is based on a systematic definition of what people themselves described. The philosophy we present is composed of three major elements which define what Navajos in Rock Point mean by a well-adjusted educated student. Each element is logically-related to the others because it is either a precondition for, or else a result of, the other.

In the first element, the student is supposed to be well-motivated and not apathetic. This means that

A. In general, a student should be able to begin his or her daily routines without being pushed, or constantly cajoled by teachers or parents.

B. Students should be enthusiastic about undertaking these daily tasks.

C. They should do what they are told, but also be able to follow these tasks to completion without being supervised constantly.

D. Then, tasks should relate both to what must be done in the realms of both home and school, and the work in one realm is seen as directly relevant to--and just as important as--that in the other.

In the second element, it follows that a student cnanot be forced by threat of stern punishment to be so motivated. Motivation must be based on the student's recognition that the tasks are important to the development of a Navajo as a full human being. This means that:

A. The individual takes constructive criticism and advice with equanimity, knowing that it is delivered by parent and teacher with the student's best interests in mind.

B. Again, these interests are based on the principles that Navajo ways of life must be respected because they make good sense--economically, as well as in more general ways--in Navajo and modern settings.

In the third element, it is recognized that while the previous two elements can be seen to be applicable in perhaps any society or culture, they are also specifically applicable to the bicultural settings of Navajo and Dominant Anglo cultures.

A. A Navajo student must develop a good self image, and the best way to do that is to begin through a good understanding of the kin-based social and ethical behavior toward other Navajos within this system.

B. This need for knowing one's social context means that a student must know the structure of this organization, and the ethical behavior toward other Navajos within this system.

C. They should thus be conversant in the different social relationships and act ethically and with spontaneity.

D. It follows that they should be able to plan ahead not only for their own futures, but plan with the needs and aspirations of those around them in mind as well.

E. Finally, once they are well-grounded in these Navajo-based ideas, they should be able to generalize these principles to life beyond the Navajo Reservation.

This last consideration means that the students should be competent in the speaking and writing of both languages, and thus in the analytical understanding of concepts in both.

THE PROGRAM RESPONSE

There are, at first glance, paradoxes in this philosophy within which the developing program must mediate. For example, how can both school and family impart the values of self-discipline without resorting to stern measures such as physical punishment? Or, how can an individual be expected to plan ahead

on one's own and still keep in mind a constellation of social relationships and cultural teachings?

First, in the realm of core teaching, the school board and administration instituted the teaching of clanship. That is,

A. By making students literate first in Navajo and then in English, the students could be taught their relationships to the Navajo kin-based clan structure.

B. Special clanship instructors could then impart important ethical behavior both formally, through instruction, and informally, through example.

C. Parents observed that as a result of this instruction, children were more outgoing and at ease with a wide range of adults in the community, than were they themselves at the same age.

D. They also observed that the students at times mastered these ideas faster than did they themselves, at the same age.

E. Finally, they observed that, in this formal instructional and informal mileu, the students showed more initiative in undertaking complex tasks than did they themselves at the same age.

Second, the parents and staff noted spinoff effects of this core of instruction in other realms of teaching.

A. It is easier to discipline students without resorting to stern or arbitrary punishment.

B. It is easier to explain to students how non-Navajo life differs from their own, and how economic realities of non-Navajo life can be reconciled with those of the Navajo.

Third, parent-teacher conferences and other interaction were found to be more productive because a foundation had been laid in the clanship instruction so that the students too could take part. Parents, in turn, reported that they were more willing to co-operate with the school because they were assured

that the school took seriously their values and teachings.

Fourth, the bilingual instruction is a co-ordinate one. That is, the student is expected to be conversant in Navajo and English without having to mix or borrow terms from one language in order to speak in another. To effect this co-ordinate approach:

A. Staff carefully identify student behavioral objectives. That is, they are explicit in what they expect from the student, at a given instructional level, and would not promote them until they mastered specific instruction.

B. If the students do not demonstrate proficiency, the teachers are expected to continue with the instruction until mastery is achieved.

E. Students who lag behind, or who arrive at the school after attending school elsewhere, are not separated from the others. Instead, they receive instruction in their own classroomn, from itinerant teachers.

All these measures are explicitly intended to assure the student that he or she can master the subject--and is expected to do so.

ROCK POINT AS AN EVOLVING PROGRAM

Rock Point is still evolving, and as a result, both staff and community have faced, and continue to face, a number of serious issues. Many of these confront Navajos elsewhere on the Reservation, but others are indicative of the exemplary progress of the Program.

First, when the program was initiated formally, in 1972, they faced issues confronting community-controlled contract

schools elsewhere on the Navajo Reservation.

A. Local people questioned whether or not they had the knowhow and ability to co-operate with each other which would be necessary in order to operate such a program.

B. Others felt that English-only teaching would best effect the development of Navajo youth able to compete in the non-Navajo world.

C. Navajos who held job with the Bureau of Indian Affairs school (which was to be converted to a contract school) were afraid of losing their jobs under a community-controlled contract school program.

D. Other Navajos doubted that they would obtain enough money for their school, if the BIA did not remain with the program.

Navajo leaders in Rock Point addressed these issues in a number of important ways.

A. Most importantly, they maintained that the School Board stuck to the original goals of the school: to reverse the deterioration of their children in their respect for Navajo life, language ability, and overall motivation and direction. Local political considerations extraneous to the interests of the school (such as hiring of relatives for jobs) was kept to a minimum.

B. The school board and administration kept contact with the community through conferences and similar activities, and could demonstrate the program's successes to the community, thereby winning them over.

C. Once the program was initiated, the school board had (and took advantage of) the time to make innovations **only after** careful thought and discussion with many parents in the community.

Second, it was through these three orientations that other issues were dealt with. For example, parents in the community disagreed about how much sacred Navajo knowledge should be taught. Some Navajos are Christians and disagreed with those of the Traditional Navajo and Native American Church religions as

to how much ceremonial and sacred knowledge should be taught in the schools. The decision by the Board was to teach those elements of Navajo culture, such as the ethics of clanship, which would instill respect for the culture. All other sacred esoterica would then be the domain of the home.

Now, Rock Point staff point out that the addition of secondary grades, one a year since 1975, have brought up still more questions. For example, how are attitudes and values which have been taught adequately in elementary grades to be taught at older levels? As the students are older and more independent, how are parents to co-operate with teachers and staff to work with students in ways similar to those which have been worked out for the local levels?

It is obvious that the need to confront these issues is the mark of a healthy developing institution. Moreover, future studies will no doubt shed light on how solutions are reached, as well as what new issues await Rock Point. However, while this study will have shed light on how Rock Point dealt with these issues, this study is not to be taken as a blueprint for the replication of such programs elsewhere. While it is clear, for example, that the Rock Point School Board succeeded in many cases because it had ample time, took care to inform concerned people, and proceeded cautiously, these qualities are still stated too generally to set a path for others to follow. Instead, the reader of this study should consider that solutions to issues confronting bilingual education cannot be determined

through fiat, or in other ways from the top down, alone. Solutions evolve, rather obviously, from a good understanding of the interaction among various levels of the school, community, and other educational hierarchy. Tribal, state and Federal policy and planning must incorporate an understanding of this interaction into their decision processes in order to make bilingual education--or any other education--work. Here is simply one example of how all this could take place.

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SECTION 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. THE NEED FOR INTENSIVE PROGRAM STUDY

Bilingual education was originally implemented in order to effect more smoothly the transition of a non-English-Speaking student from his or her native background to one of greater competence in English. In recent years, however, this transitional approach has undergone enlargement in scope to include co-existence of both the native language and the langauge of the Dominant, or Anglo, culture. While it is evident that this enlarged, or perhaps more "radical," approach has become increasingly popular on the Navajo Reservation, partly as a result of socioeconomic considerations (Schoepfle, et al, 1981), it is equally true that this enlarged scope has come as a result of issues proper to routine program evaluation as well. That is, the evaluation of the effectiveness of education programs requires more than simple measurement of student performance; it requires understanding of the social milieu (often given the restricted definition of "self-image"). For Native Americans in general, and Navajos in particular, the context of evaluation in turn brings forth the need to consider the history of

A. the interplay of school administration development and community involvement, treaty law and developing definitions of "sovereignty."

B. The attempt by many Native American leaders to

maintain these tribal entities as independent from the class structure-related minority politics of the United States during the Middle and Late 20th Century.

The interplay of all these has resulted in considerable political confusion which has virtually brought to a halt the development of a comprehensive educational policy on the Navajo Reservation. For example, Navajos have stated publicly that they do not want bilingual education in the schools, i.e. that Navajo culture is better taught in the homes. On the other, they also state that they are annoyed at the schools' indifference to helping Navajo children observe their kin-based cultural identity (Platero et al, 1977).

At the national level the continuation of bilingual education is being threatened by educators and legislators who perceive) or at least maintain that they perceive(no educational improvement in minority student performance. To be sure, it is possible to say that some educators hostile to bilingual education fail to acknowledge improvements which have indeed been made. However, the fact remains that little is known about the impact of bilingual education programs, and as a result, bilingual education's proponents have few means at their disposal to defend themselves against destructive criticism.

Yet, information about such impacts should be availble. Isolated bilingual programs have developed in various communities throughout the Navajo Reservation, and their implementors have confronted a wide variety of political and policy issues as their programs have matured. It follows that

an in-depth description of these programs would provide the means of analyzing systematically some of these basic issues through better understanding of them in a real-life context. Study of the more exemplary programs would be best for providing this background information because

A. The program has usually been in operation for a longer time.

B. Participants have had time to consider bilingual educational issues.

C. Parents have had more time to become actively involved.

In other words, all of the program's participants have had time to acquire a realistic knowledge of bilingual education, and to think carefully and co-operatively about "where we go from here."

1.2. THE OUTLINE OF THIS REPORT

The purpose of this report, then, is to outline how a combined ethnographic and sociolinguistic study of an exemplary bilingual education program in the Navajo community of Rock Point may help rationally explain how community people have determined what they want from a bilingual program, and what sort of issues they must face to achieve these goals. This report will be descriptive rather than evaluative, and focus primarily on obtaining the view (or views) of the participants themselves, rather than restricting inquiry to the validation of those of the researchers.

In Section 2 we will describe the methodology of this

study. The methodology is in two parts. The first deals with how we used systematic interview and observation to obtain the views of parents and staff about the education in their school. The second is a sketch of how we came to select Rock Point as an exemplary program. The actual comparison of schools is included in Appendix I.

Section 3 includes an overall description of the Navajo Reservation and the Rock Point Community. Discussion then turns to an overview of the school itself. Then, our attention turns to discussion of the implications of this description toward what we mean by the term "community."

Section 4 is a cognitive ethnographic description of the overall educational philosophy which has evolved from the interaction between the developing school program and increased parental involvement. This philosophy includes not only the generalized ideals of what parents would like their children to become, but also their perceptions of the Rock Point Progrm's actual impacts. Statements by parents and staff obtained in interview are the primary source of information.

Section 5 is a description of the Rock Point Program itself, and how it is in turn related to the evolving educational philosophy. Here, we focus attention on how the program itself works, not only from the ideal standpoint of the educational philosophy, but from the standpoint of observed interaction in the classroom. In addition to interview information, classroom observations are therefore included as

well. At the end of this section we summarize the key impacts of this program, from the viewpoints of the parents.

Section 6 is an interpretive look back to the history of the school by the parents involved. Instead of an actual reconstruction of the events leading up to the present, this look back is a review of the issues which would be faced in the development of this program--and other Navajo educational programs as well--and how these were surmounted at Rock Point.

Finally, in Section 7 we review what this report is and what it is not. From a generalized standpoint we discuss how, from an ethnographic view, we may address such questions as how representative this report is of the total community. the slightly different question of how much these viewpoints are shared by members of the community (i.e. psychological reality), and the possible effects of research on the actual viewpoints of the people themselves. From a more particularlized standpoint we then discuss the possible reasons that various aspects of the Rock Point Program, such as its secondary level, were discused little, if at all.

SECTION 2

METHOD AND THEORY

2.1. ETHNOGRAPHY AND THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF SPEAKING

Ethnography has featured, as a method of social inquiry,

A. the choice of a small sample of individuals as a unit of study (i.e. either a highly limited geographical entity or network of individuals); and

B. the intensive interview and observation of social life and knowledge through what is referred to as "participant observation."

If we assume that ethnography features the study of face-to-face social life and cultural knowledge of individuals as its primary goal, then sociolinguistics follows from it. Such consistent following is obvious when Cherry's definition of communication is observed: "the establishment of a social order of individuals through the use of language and signs." (Marler, 1961). Thus, the unit of study can shift from focus on social structure and patterns of knowledge to a concentration on what sorts of communication units people use, who uses them, where they are used, and perhaps most important, how people consider them important.

2.1.1. PROBLEMS WITH PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

However, ethnography is not without its problems. And many of these stem particularly from the use of participant observation. First, participant observation involves an intricate blending of interview, conversation, and various

grades of formal to informal observation. This activity sometimes requires years to do because disparate bits and pieces of interview and observation must be put together as they emerge to the ethnographer. The formulation of a cogent holistic description of a culture is thus not something immediately describable or presentable back to the local peole with whom the researcher is working. These people feel uncomfortable about this delay because they want to know what the researchers are finding, and the researcher's replies are often vague, overgeneralized, or incomplete. Thus, the researchers simply cannot give coherent progress reports on their research until the project is done.

Second, one of the requirements of participant observation often cited is that the ethnographer "steeps oneself" in the culture. Essentially, this means that the ethnographers attempt to fit together pieces of information gathered from informal observation and conversation. While we do not wish to detract from the value of such a pursuit, this "steeping" of oneself has given rise to the unfortunate impression (by both local populations and professional colleague) that ethnographers simply "hang around." They do not.

Third, once the report is completed, the descriptions are in narrative form. This form is difficult to integrate with the often more formal, or quantitative, methodological approaches used in the other social and behavioral sciences. Thus, the findings are hard to generalize not only to other disciplines

but to other ethnographies.

2.1.2. COGNITIVE ETHNOGRAPHY

While solutions to some of these shortcomings can not be found entirely in the ethnographic approach alone, a restriction in the methodological scope of ethnography is helpful. The restriction we have imposed is to rely primarily upon systematic interview, in the research. The methodologies have been recommended under the general rubric of cognitive ethnography (Gladwin, 1979), and the more restricted ethnoscience ethnography (Spradley & McCurdy, 1972; Agar, 1971; Werner et al, m.s.). The ethnoscience ethnography involves the following interview strategy:

A. The researcher begins with an **open-ended interview question** (i.e. "grand tour" question (Spradley & McCurdy, 1972; Werner, forthcoming) intended to elicit informant discourse on a topic. Little or no effort is made to restrict the informant's reply; the informant is urged to speak on whatever he or she considers important.

B. If possible, the researchers transcribe the informant discourse, and obtain **key terms** which denote the effective environment of the speaker.

C. Researchers initiate more restricted questions (i.e. "mini-tour" questions of Spradley & McCurdy & Werner et al) intended to elicit definitions of key terms.

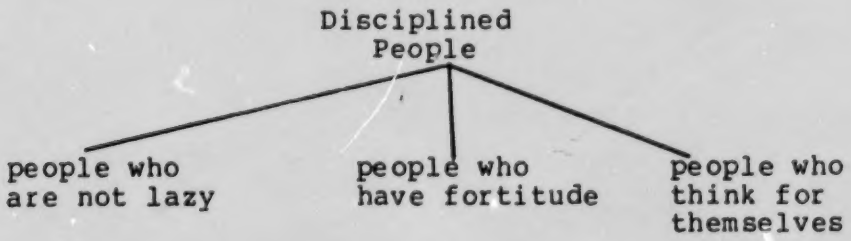
D. The questioning sequence is repeated for other domains of knowledge (Werner et al, m.s.).

The intended result of the cognitive ethnography is to obtain the "insider's" view of a setting. This means that the most important information is the view of the people directly involved in the educational process. The language which people themselves use to refer to their environment is therefore the

highest priority.

Analysis of interviews and language therefore involves the systematic analysis of meaning. The definitions of terms people use to discuss their environment are the basic unit of this analysis. Definitions consist of a given term and additional sentences, or attributes, which provide more information about the term. Additional information, in turn, usually is information about other terms in peoples' language and vocabulary, and therefore usually describes a term's logical or semantic relationship to these other terms. Among these relationships are **taxonomy** (i.e. determining that "X is a kind of Y"), **sequence** (i.e. determining that "If X then Y"); **part-whole** (i.e. determining that "X is an integral part of Y"), **implication** (i.e. determining "If X is true, then Y is true"), and **inverses** of the above (Werner, 1973).

Taxonomies especially can be presented in the form of tree diagrams in which the lines stand for the statement "X is a kind of Y." Thus, in the description on subsequent pages, the Navajo equivalent of the following may appear.



In reading the diagrams, one may say "people who are not

lazy are disciplined people."

The advantages of the cognitive ethnographic approach are, first, that an overall structure, or pattern, of sccial structure and knowledge can be obtained rapidly, at one time, rather than piecemeal. Second, it can be done in rapid bursts of field work, followed by analysis, and this means that the researcher can respond quickly to field-initiated scheduling needs, and not disrupt a setting by prolonged presence. Third, it is easily presentable, in understandable schematic form, back to the informants. Thus, the researcher's effect can be more systematically monitored.

Observation as a mode of data-gathering, is not ruled out. Rather, it is guided by the interview data and is intended to

A. gather further detail about folk definitions,

B. confirm or disconfirm interview testimony

C. provide situational means of eliciting informant testimony (e.g. "what's going on over there right now?").

2.1.3. INTERVIEW, OBSERVATION AND SAMPLING SEQUENCES.

We initiated three sets of interviews with three separate samples of individuals. The first sample consisted of six indiviuals from Rock Point Community, chosen by the administration. The choice was based on how highly articulate they were, and the interview results were intended as well, to demonstrate how the research was to be conducted.

The second sample consisted of 20 individuals from among Rock Point School staff and community people employed by the school. From a ten percent stratifed random sample we selected 20 individuals who were interviewed and recorded. Strata were based on the following occupational categories in the school

A. Navajo Language Teachers: 2 interviewed
B. English Language Teachers: 2 interviewed
C. Programmed Reading Tutors: 1 interviewed
D. Secondary (i.e. high school) teachers: 2 interviewed
E. Recreation personnel: 1 interviewed
F. Residential Care personnel: 2 interviewed
G. Culture instructors: 1 interviewed
H. Navajo Arts and Crafts instructors: 1 interviewed
I. Livestock instructors: 1 interviewed
J. Food Services personnel: 1 interviewed
K. Transportation personnel: 1 interviewed
L. Maintenance personnel: 1 interviewed
M. Administration: 1 interviewed
N. School Board: 2 interviewed
O. Parent Involvement Committee: 1 interviewed

TOTAL: 20

Thus, we varied slightly the grand tour questions for these first two samples.

A. For the first sample, we first asked "how do your children learn through school?"

B. For the bilingual educational staff of the school (including administration and teachers, among others), we asked two additioal questions: "What have you done here at school during the time you have worked here?" and "What have been important events here?"

For the community, the question in "A" generally elicited a well-organized body of verbal discourse lasting for more than an hour without intervention by the researcher. This is not at all unusual for Navajos, who are famous for speaking on various subjects in an oratorical style (Ladd, 1957)

For the staff, the two questions were designed to help the informants restrict and frame their answers. That is, the first question was intended as a job description and employment history of the individual. The informant would then be able to answer the second question more easily, having thought about the first one.

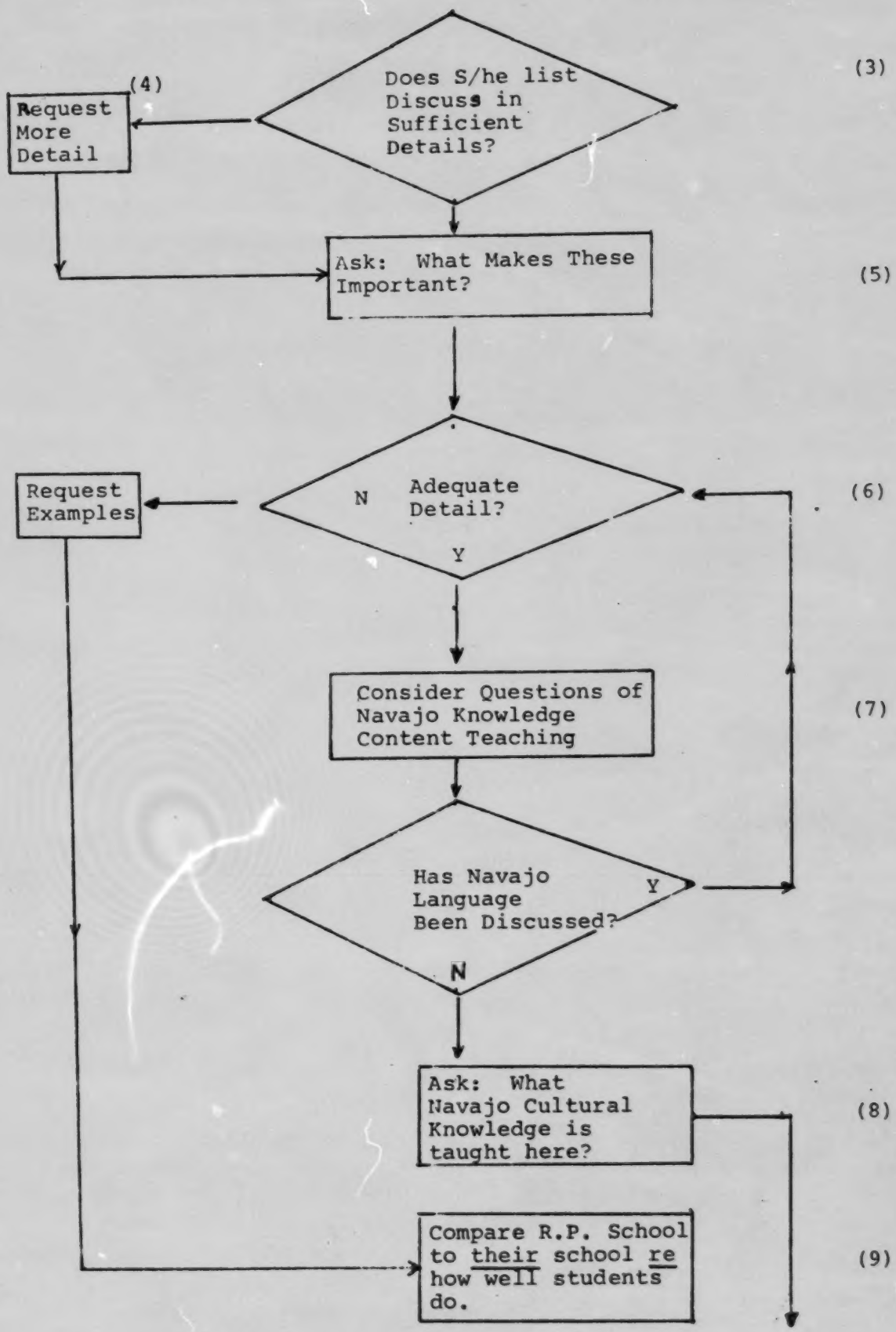
The third interview sample was from a list of community people either presently not employed with the school, or whose children were not presently attending school there.

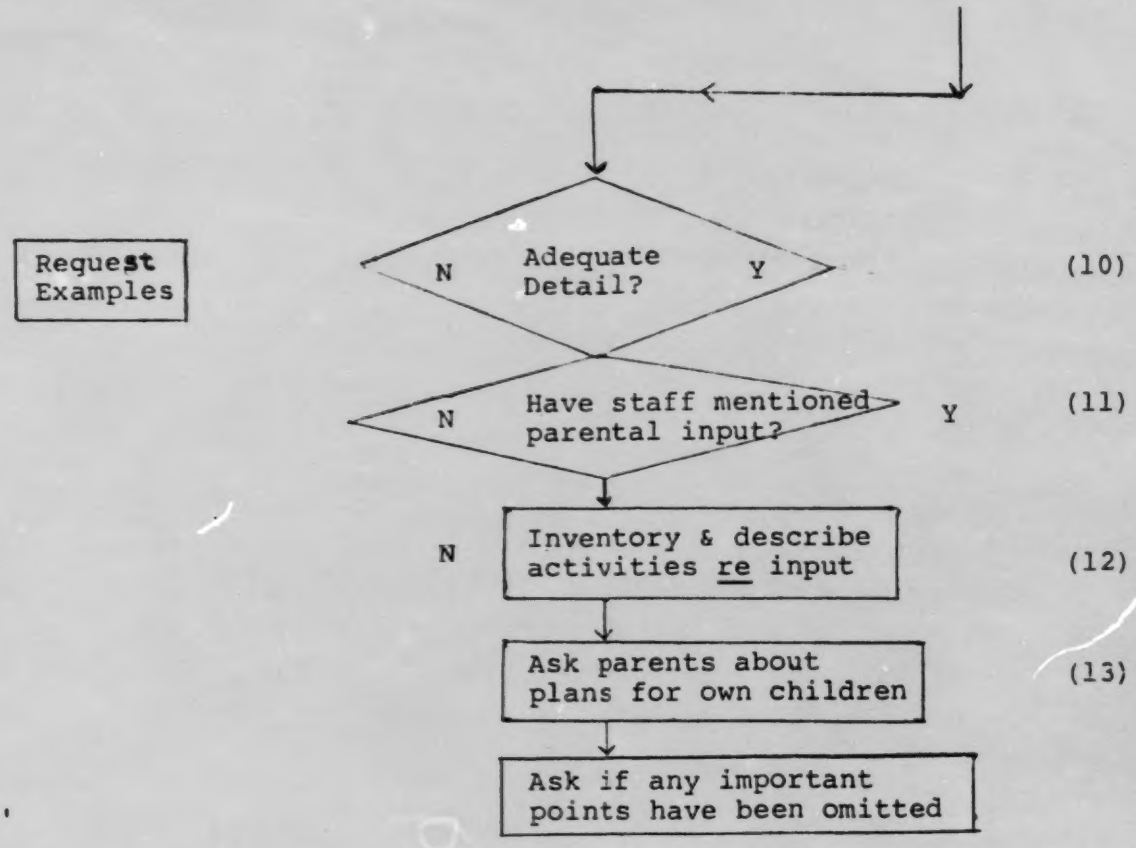
The third was a random sample from a total list of parents. We attempted, here, to exclude people presently employed at the school. Ten of these individuals were interviewed in order to see if their views would differ from those presently more closely affiliated. It turned out that their views did not differ.

In this report, the interview quotations of all these individuals are included together because we were unable to determine any major variations within the scope of the analysis done here. Most of the quotations are from the first and second interviews, as little new information emerged from the third interview sample.

This is not to say that other detail--particularly of a historical nature--would not be obtained if more intensive interviews were undertaken. Similarly, statistical methods might deliver a better sense of variability to the reader. Nevertheless, we are convinced that the results of this ethnographic approach will provide novel insights into the interaction between school program and community.

Thus, the flow chart on the following pages describes an aggregate interview pattern **which emerged as a result of information collected during interviews themselves.** The existence of such an aggregate pattern suggests that the knowledge that one informant had was very similar to that of another. At least this appears true for the subject matter brought up during interview.


Does S/he list Discuss in Sufficient Details?
(3)
(4)
Request More Detail
Ask: What Makes These Important?
(5)
N
Adequate Detail?
Y
(6)
Request Examples
Consider Questions of Navajo Knowledge Content Teaching
(7)
Has Navajo Language Been Discussed?
Y
N
Ask: What Navajo Cultural Knowledge is taught here?
(8)
Compare R.P. School to their school re how well students do.
(9)



A brief description of the flowchart is in order. First, a job description is requested (1) followed by assessment of whether all jobs have been sufficiently inventoried. Then, (2) important events which have happened during this job are outlined. Then, a standard assessment (3) is made to determine whether adequate definitional and attitudinal detail has been obtained. At issue here is whether or not the informant actually can (or is willing to) provide more detail in regard to describing events and outlining attitudes toward such events. If insufficient informational detail is given, the informants were asked to provide more (4). If such detail was given in the first question, then attitudes were elicited (5) by requesting

information as to what factors made them important to the individual, and why they were important.

At this point events had been described and we were interested in determining their significance. If sufficient detail was not available (6) then the informant was asked to provide concrete examples of what they meant (i.e. description of actual events). Thus, for example, if an informant reported that his or her students were doing better than students in other schools in reading, we asked for examples and received instances of students pronouncing words without accent, of remembering clan affiliations at the ages of 5 - 7 instead of 7 - 10, etc. Similarly, if staff mentioned better school-parent communication, we would request exact avenues of such communication, such as conferences, school board meetings, and so forth. Then, we would ask for the specific activities which would go on during, say, a parent-teacher conference. The latter form of elicitation, while somewhat exhausting and tedious for the informant, usually netted a **natural history**, or sequence, of activities which occurred.

The discussion of these examples was important because (7) discussion often shifted to questions about how much knowledge was taught in the school, if that had not been mentioned by the informant before. Once we had insured (8) that this had been discussed adequately, we asked how, in a general fashion, the schools they had attended during their younger years were similar or different. If this answer did not lead naturally to

questions of school-community relations (10 - 12) then questions pertaining to these were asked. Then, (13) staff would be asked to outline the plans for their own children's educational future. These could easily be compared with those of other community members. Finally (14) all interviews would end with a question to the effect of "are there important issues or information which we have not discussed?" This obviously was intended to encourage the informant to mention anything on his or her mind which may not have occurred to them in the course of the interview.

2.1.4. ANALYSIS

After the interviews were recorded, they were transcribed in the language of the speaker. Whererver the inteviews were in Navajo, they were first transcribed in the standard Navajo orthography of Young and Morgan (1980). They were then translated in three steps:

A. First, individual sentences were separated; then

B. Sentences were translatd word-for-word; and then

C. A smooth English sentence translation was derived from the word-for-word translation.

In the texts provided here, the Navajo sentences and smooth English translations only are provided. The following is an illustration of how all three of these would appear.

-----Áko ółta' -dęę' ninádahajeehgo ndi dibé
Thus School from it they return from it when sheep

bich'į' dabi'dil'áaqo doo yich'į' bił dahóyée'da
care for them one asks them not with them they are not lazy.

** Thus, when they are asked to care for the sheep when they return from school, they are not hesitant or lazy.

Sentences such as these are the attributes which comprise the means for us to infer the definitions and taxonomies which are the backbone of our study.

2.2. CHOICE OF AN EXEMPLARY PROGRAM

Throughout the Navajo Reservation there are three main kinds of schools, which can be distinguished by the form of administration they have. In choosing the exemplary program, all school types must be considered because all purport to sponsor bilingual education programs.

A. **Bureau of Indian Affairs Schools:** administered by the Federal government, they house about 25,000 Navajo students who are primarily from the rural areas of the Reservation, away from the border towns of the Reservation and major paved highways.

B. **Public Schools:** administered by the contiguous states of Arizona, Utah and New Mexico, these schools were established originally to serve the needs of non-Navajo students but now serve approximately 50,000 Navajos who live somewhat closer to the border towns and major highways mentioned above.

C. **Contract Schools:** administered primarily by personnel chosen by local school boards, these are often referred to as community-controlled schools. Unlike the state- and Federal-operated schools, the local board has the authority to hire personnel and choose

curriculum. They now serve approximately 2,500 Navajo students.

D. **Mission and Placement Schools:** Serving about 2,500 Navajo young people, these schools are sponsored primarily by church missions or lay missions. Most of the placement home activity is through the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints, or Mormons, and students are placed in homes off-Reservation.

Each of these school types has developed different educational philosophies and educational policies as a result of the form of adminstration they have, and of the developmental history of this administration. The greatest percentage of Navajo students now attend public schools as a result of BIA-ratified Tribal policy which requires that all Navajo children living within one-and-one-half-miles of a paved highway will attend public schools (Platero et al, 1977). This is the case despite the distinct possibility that the round-trip distance that the student may have to commute to a consolidated school exceeds 200 miles.

Fifty-seven BIA-funded elementary and secondary schools and 30 public, schools were found to claim to offer bilingual education programs. These programs were then compared as to:

A. the length of time that the bilingual program has been in operation. At a minimum, programs will be considered if they are at least five years old.

B. the percentage of children entering first grade who are fluent in Navajo and limited in English. At a minimum, programs will be considered where at least two-thirds of the children are in this category.

C. the extent to which there is evidence of community acceptance of the program.

D. the extent to which there is available description of the method of implementation of the program, including

teacher training and curriculum development.

E. the extent to which data are available evaluating the educational effect of the program over at least five years.

F. the willingness of the school administration and of the community to participate in the project; and

G. the extent to which other Navajo schools and educators would accept the school chosen as an example.

Criteria in "D", "E", and "F" were stressed the most in comparison because they are most easily accessible for examination. "B" was utilized wherever needed, but in most Reservation schools, applies automatically. "C" is difficult to evaluate, even where the program has been investigated carefully, without extensive ethnographic study.

In all cases, attempts were made to collect the data evenly. This means that because the selection process was under way by August 1980, some schools were not even in operation. Therefore, few face-to-face interviews were conducted with school administration at this time. Written statements of program goals, objectives, history were collected and served as the primary information base for analysis.

While these data were being collected, we also decided to contact those agencies already serving programs funded by ESEA Titles I, IV, and VII. Fifteen overview interviews were thus conducted with personnel in:

A. the American Indian Bilingual Education Center (AIBEC) located at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque.

B. the Native American Materials Development Center

(NAMDC) in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

C. the Navajo Tribal Division of Education (NDOE) Office of Program Evaluation, at Window Rock, Arizona, the Navajo Tribal Capital.

D. the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) Office of Title I Program Administration in Gallup, New Mexico.

The first two, while located in New Mexico, serve the Reservation areas located in Arizona and Utah as well. Both are part of the network of Title VII-funded organizations serving larger sections of the Southwest.

Following these overview interviews, two ERIC searches were made. The first one was for any documentation and directories for extant programs and program reviews for the Navajo area funded by Title VII, which may have escaped our attention. The second was a more intensive search for all other programs which were funded for the Navajo Reservation, regardless of the funding source.

The screening then proceeded according to the criteria discussed above. The screening thus is a description of how we, as a research program, came to decide upon Rock Point Community School as the site for our ethnographic and research project. **It is distinctly not intended as a guide to determine who has the best program.** Readers may disagree with our decisions, depending on their own emphases and biases (inherent in any research or policy orientation). For a description of the decisions we actually made in screening, please refer to Schoepfle and Conescu (1980), with is enclosed in Appendix I.

SECTION 3

DEFINITION OF COMMUNITY

3.1. THE CHAPTER IN GENERAL

Brief mention should be made of what is meant by "community." In some literature, particularly that describing what happens in the United States, "Community" is often equated with ethnic boundary or neighborhood (Barth, 1968). Thus, reference is often made to a "Chicano community" or Black Community (Hannerz, 1968) for both urban and rural settings. In the Navajo situation (as well as in most other non-Western situations) this designation is not applicable.

First, we must describe the Navajo Reservation. It is a land mass of 25,000 square miles whose present boundaries include parts of the contiguous states of Arizona, New Mexico and Utah. They were initially fixed by the Treaty of 1868, and later extended by Executive Order to include more of the land traditionally used by the Navajo people, and to protect them from Spanish and Anglo encroachment (Fanale, 1982).

The Navajos are linguistically related to their various Apache neighbors and together constitute the majority of the Southern Athapascan language subgroup. Today, with a population of approximately 170,000, they constitute the largest population of Naive Americans, the number of whose native-language speakers are on the increase.

By the late 16th Century, historical accounts report clashes between Navajos and invading Spanish, who first came to take gold, and later, to establish ranching (Forbes, 1972). Through the middle of the 19th Century these clashes became more frequent as Spanish, and later Mexican, encroachment and slave raiding increased (Roessel, 1979).

With the assumption of control of the Southwest by the United States, clashes between U.S. soldiers and Navajos were reported, as the former attempted to reduce warfare between Navajos and Mexicans, and open the area for Anglo settlment.

By the early 1860's the situation had deteriorated to the point that some of the neighboring Indian tribes, and Spanish and Mexican interests urged the United States troops to launch a scorched earth campaign intended to starve out the Navajos, and then, to intern them at Fort Sumner, New Mexico. This internment, and its attendant concentration march of over 300 miles, is known by historians as the Long Walk and by the Navajos as **Hweeldi**, and resulted in the death of undetermined thousands of these people. While originally intended by the U.S. Army as a permanent resettlement program, its failure was increasingly obvious and politically embarrassing (Young, 1968). Thus, the Navajos were released after signing a Treaty in 1868, and returned home.

After their return, contact with Anglos increased gradually, as Federal efforts increased in education, and market activity through traders intensified. However, it was with the

Stock Reduction of the 1930's that there was a quantum increase in intensity. Herds of sheep, the primary source of livelihood, were reduced in many cases below the level of subsistence, and establishment of Reservation-wide grazing district boundaries closed off access to traditional ceremonial and grazing areas.

While originally intended as a conservation measure, its result was the shattering of a subsistence economy and the partial disintegration of a society (Fanale, 1982). As these traditional social ties were attenuated and subjected to considerable economic risk, Navajos of the early 1940's were incresingly exposed to the outside world as they had to take on more wage work for support, and as they became subject to military service.

Navajos, as a result, turned increasingly to education, as the income from wage work became more necessary to support households, and as the need increased for educated leaders who could deal with outside pressures on behalf of relatives and neighbors. With these economic and educational changes came further problems, as school children became alienated from family and kin. Indeed, it was in response to these historically-accumulating pressures, and their impacts, that Rock Point Navajos decided to take control of their education, as we shall see later.

3.2. CHAPTER AND SCHOOL

Upon the establishment of the Reservation, by the treaty of 1868, the Federal Government launched a campaign--albeit not

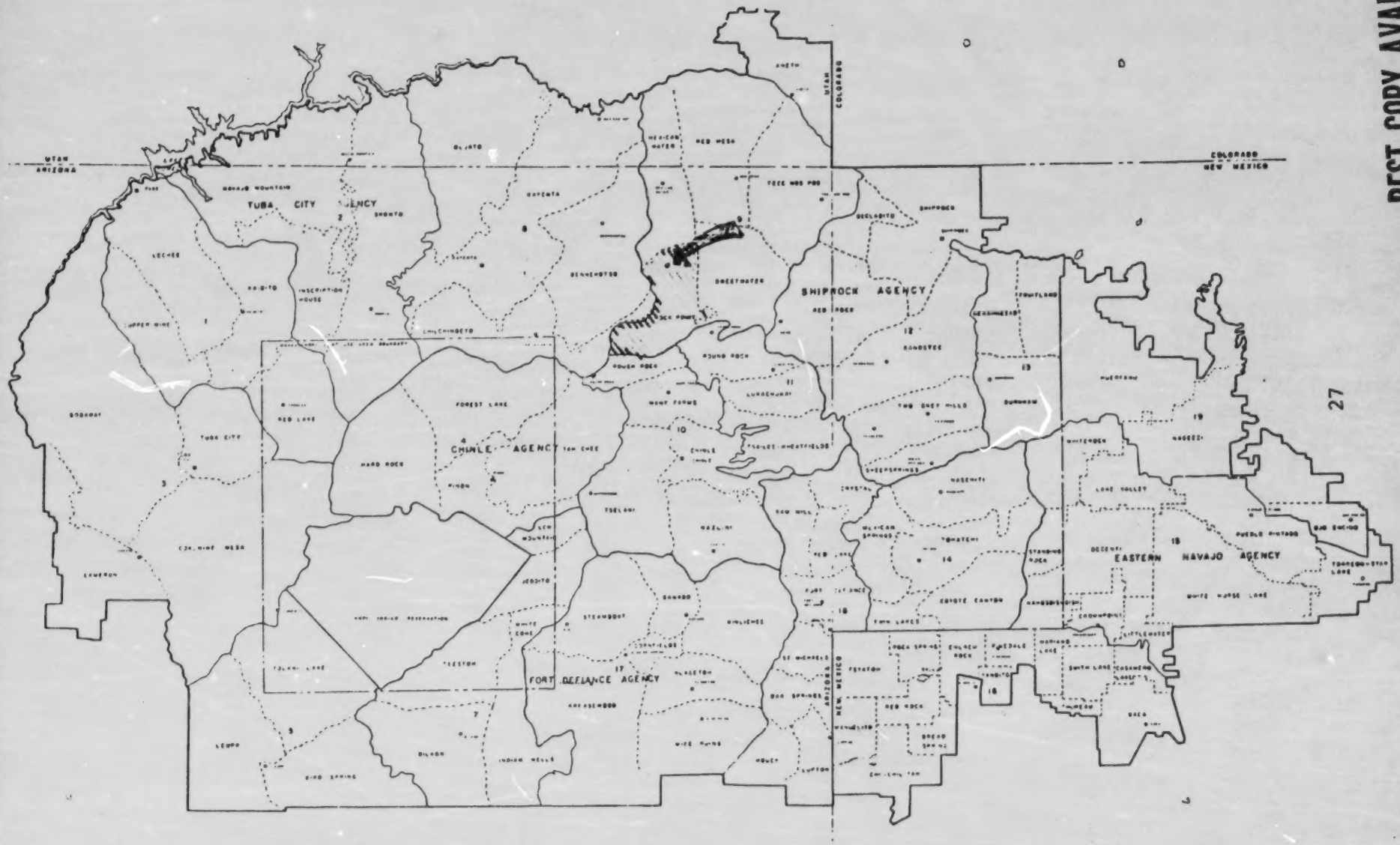
always systematically--to establish a single Tribal entity (Boyce, 1974), by 1934, with the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA). At the same time, concerted effort was made to establish more localized entities known as Chapters, around 1927 (Young, 1961). Originally intended as public meeting forums for Navajos returning from far-off boarding schools and wage-work jobs, these entities have become the basic geopolitical unit of the Tribal political and governing structure. As such, chapter meetings have become the means not only of distributing information to a largely non-literate public, but also where disputes are settled, grazing-right boundaries agreed upon, and more recently, where community planning is carried out.

Some writers have maintained that the Chapter was originally imposed by the Federal government in order to undercut the decision-making capacity of traditional "land use units" and other kin-based groups (Kimball and Provinse, 1924). At présent, however, it appears that the Chapter, as an organization, has been assimilated, to various degrees, within what appears to be an aggregation of relatively fluid kin-based organization in present-day political decision-making. Consideration of the Chapter as a basic geopolitical, kin-based unit of social organization will be important in understanding the development of a bilingual education program at Rock Point Community School. The Chapter is responsible for the election of school board members and plays an integral part in the decision-making process through which parents have an input into

the school's operation. It also places in sharp relief a provisional definition of community: networks of extended kin-based groups associated with both the Chapter and school, and who are independent in many ways, from other similar Navajo groups around them. This definition is important because such kin groups are not located in any geographically centralized point; they are dispersed, in residence, among a number of "camps" (or "outfits," Levy, 1962) where lifestock are raised. There are no centralized villages.

The chapter thus is a place of congregation because it is a location where people come to obtain well water during dry seasons, can buy items they need from the trading post, and be guaranteed a building--i.e. the Chapter house--with enough space and facilities for organized meetings and some offices. Thus, as one drives past seemingly (and deceptively) endless open spaces, the only visible indications of what is referred to as a "community" are a school and surrounding residential compound, a chapter house, a trading post, or a combination of these. For a people, a majority of whom lack electricity, running water, and immediate access to paved roads, these facilities are thus understandably a focal point of social contact.

Rock Point is thus one of these chapters (See Maps, next two pages). Its population, by the 1970 Census, is approximately 1,200 people, or about 300 family households. The Chapter house is located near the school, a trading post and a Lutheran Church mission established there in the early 1950's.



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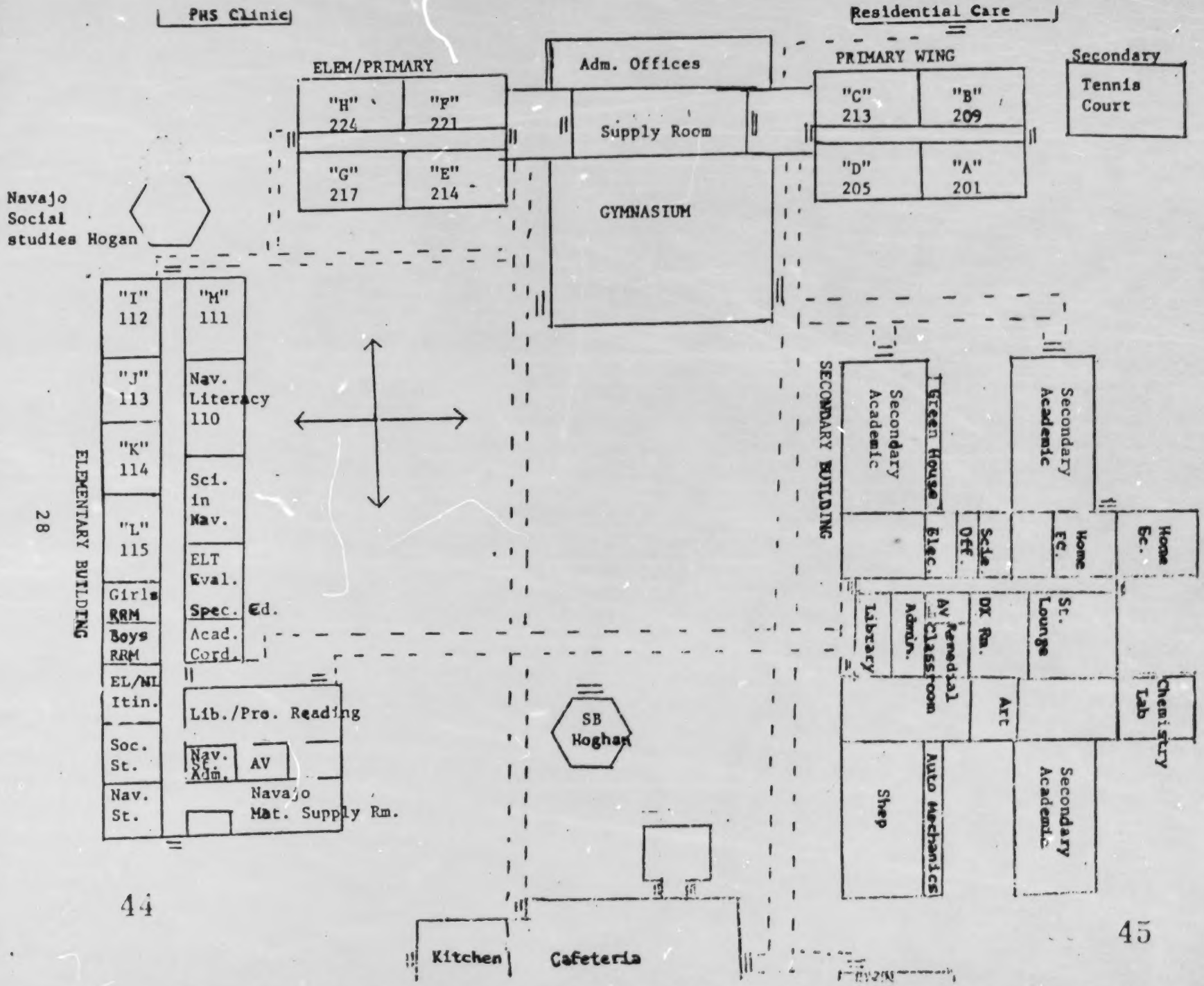

PHS Clinic
Residential Care
ELEM/PRIMARY
Adm. Offices
PRIMARY WING
Secondary
Tennis Court
"H" 224
"F" 221
"C" 213
"B" 209
Supply Room
"G" 217
"E" 214
"D" 205
"A" 201
GYMNASIUM
Navajo Social studies Hogan
"I" 112
"M" 111
"J" 113
Nav. Literacy 110
"K" 114
Sci. in Nav.
"L" 115
ELT Eval.
Girls RRM
Spec. Ed.
Boys RRM
Acad. Cord.
EL/NI Itin.
Lib./Pro. Reading
Soc. St.
Nav. St. Adm.
AV
Nav. St.
Navajo Mat. Supply Rm.
ELEMENTARY BUILDING
SB Hoghan
SECONDARY BUILDING
Secondary Academic
Green House
Elec.
Scie. Off.
Secondary Academic
Home Ec.
Home Ec.
Library
Admin.
AV
Remedial Classroom
DX Rm.
St. Lounge
Art
Chemistry Lab
Shop
Auto Mechanics
Secondary Academic
Kitchen
Cafeteria

Rock Point's economy is based on pastoral livestock raising and some irrigated farming. Prior to the 1930's an extensive system of irrigated agriculture had been introduced, but after World War II the ditches fell into disuse and disrepair because of a combination of changing community organization and declining economic importance for farming. While attempts have been made to revive farming as an income-producing entity, the school itself is by far the largest local wage-work employer.

As shall be seen below, livestock now produce little monetary income. The primary economic value of livestock is in their capacity to provide food which need not be bought at a store (i.e. avoided costs) and as a source for some monetary income through use of sheep wool for weaving. The famous Navajo rugs are then sold. Thus, while not necessarily enough for self-sufficiency, livestock are nevertheless of considerable economic significance.

Some economists (Reno, 1980) have suggested that traditional Navajo pastoralism is greatly in decline because of its obvious inability to provide sole economic support, and writers then infer that the Navajo culture is in a state of decline. While no one can deny important cultural transformations, to infer that Navajo culture is in decline is to miss an important possibility, within not only Rock Point but elsewhere: Navajo culture is modernizing, not simply westernizing. To observe at least this possibility should direct our attention to how Rock Point school and community

maintain a Navajo education which also, with minimal contradiction, orients their children toward the outside world.

3.3. ROCK POINT SCHOOL

During the two years this research, Rock Point School had a total enrollment of 430 students. As mentioned in 2.4.ff, Rock Point, is a community-controlled contract school. That is, (Holm, et al, 1981; see also Roessel, 1979),

> The chapter elects the School Board, a "Local Navajo Community School Board" under Title X of the Navajo Tribal Code. The School Board meets once a week. The Board negotiates or approves all contracts and grants, interviews and hires all employees, makes all major policy decisions an dapproveds all major expenditures.

The contract is renewed yearly between the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the School Board (Holm, et al, 1981; Roessel, 1979)

> Each year, the Board makes a written proposal to the Tribe and the BIA to continue the current 3-year contract or to start a new contract. They say what they want to do, how they want to do it, how the school's work will be measured or evalauted, and how they would spend the Bureau money they expect. The Board contracts with the approval of the Navajo Tribal Council. Any continuation or modification can be "vetoed" by the Council. A number of meetings are held between the Board and Area BIA people. When agreements are reached, these are written up into a contract and both sides sign the contract. In effect, the contract is a set of rules and promises the Board and the Bureau have agreed to keep for one year.

Once the contract is ratified by the Bureau, the School receives as much as, but not more than, the amount provided to a comparable Bureau school program under per-pupil funding formulas.

PL 93-638 regulations insist the contract school will get as much as but no more than a Bureau-operated school. For the last

few years, money has been distributed within the Bureau by a per pupil "formula": so much money for each day, boarding, jr. high, or sr. high student. Rock Point receives **as much** but no **more** Navajo Area BIA money than a BIA school with the same students.

At the same time the contract is signed, the Board agrees to a certain budget, saying how much money they think they will spend for each "line": like "Academic salaries" or "Dormitory supplies", etc. the Board must tell the Area BIA about any small changes they make: they must get the Area BIA's approal for bigger changes.

The Board differs from those of the BIA schools in the control it has in the hiring and firing of staff, and in its access to other funding sources. This was mentioned in 2.4.ff and is explained in detail below. (Holm, et al, 1981; Roessel,

> All of the employees work for the Board. Even though the money may come from the BIA, or Title I, or Title IV, the Board tries to run one integrated education and care program.
>
> All Board employees are under "contract" to the Board--as in the public schools Each year, the Board looks at the money available and at their employees; they they offer contracts to the people they want to return. Contracts are ten or twelve months; teachers are on ten-month contracts.
>
> If some full-time people leave, or new full-time jobs open up, the Board interviews applicants and selects new employees.

Because the school is a community-controlled school, it can submit proposals for other monies. Some of these are simply allocated per pupil: Title I, Title IV-A(LEA), and JO'M. Others are competitive (and therefore uncertain): Title IV-A (ICS), NEH, Title IV-B (Bilingual Ed).

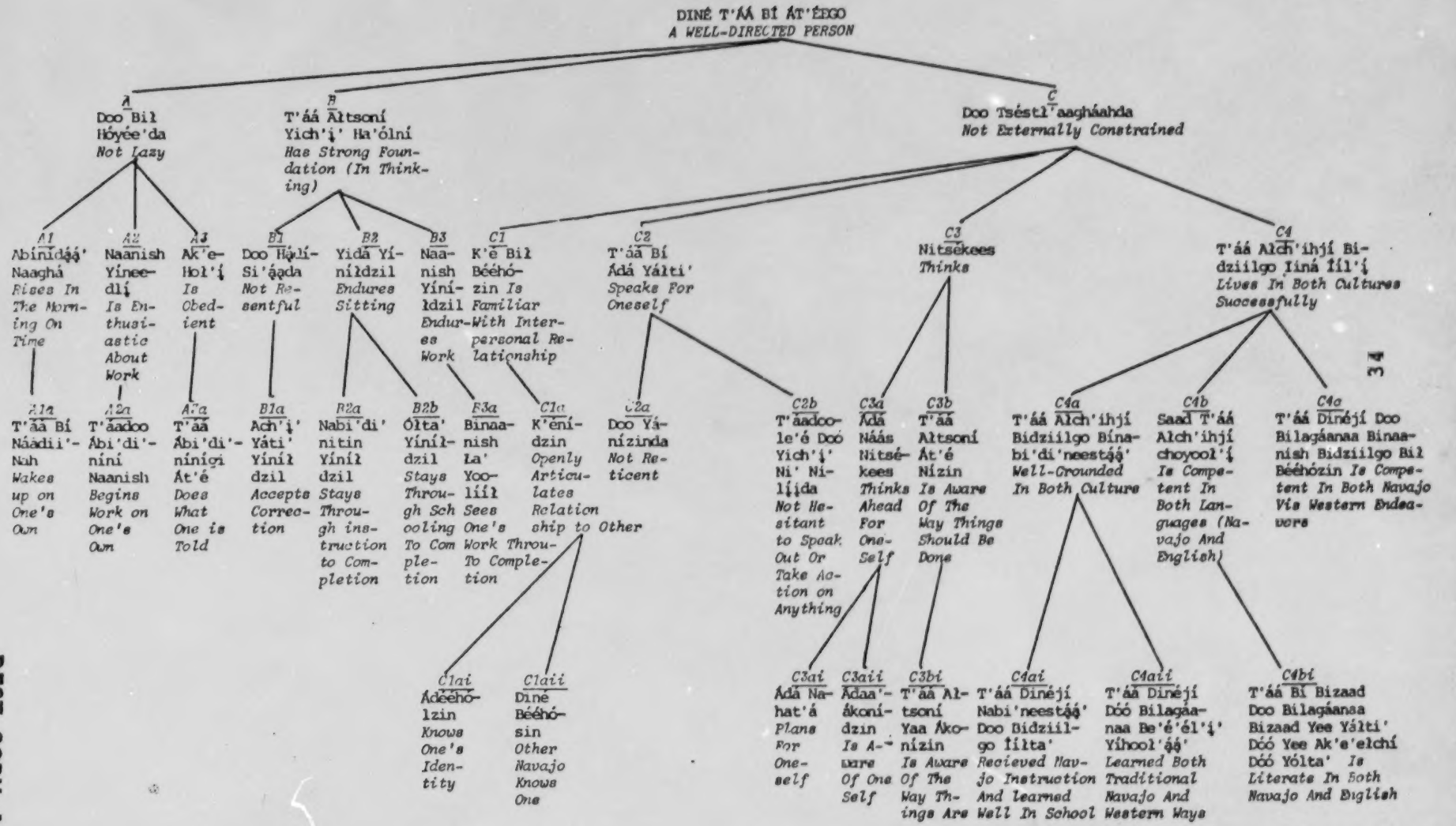
SECTION 4

PARENTAL IDEAS ON WHAT EDUCATION HAS DONE AND IS SUPPOSED TO DO

At the time we were interviewing, Navajo Parents and staff had well-defined ideas on how they wanted their children to behave in a world which increasingly requires knowledge of two cultures. They also proposed the ways in which their school programs could, and did, bring out this bicultural competence.

In order to describe these in a way in which their attitudes can be properly related to one another, we will present a classification system centering around the overall qualities of a well-adjusted student.

On the next page is the overall taxonmy, whose components will be the basis of discussion in the subsection of Section 4. All terms have been lettered and numbered as an attempt to facilitate reference back and forth through this report. This description emerges not from the knowledge or statements of any one individual, but is instead a composite of what many people had to say about the education of their children.



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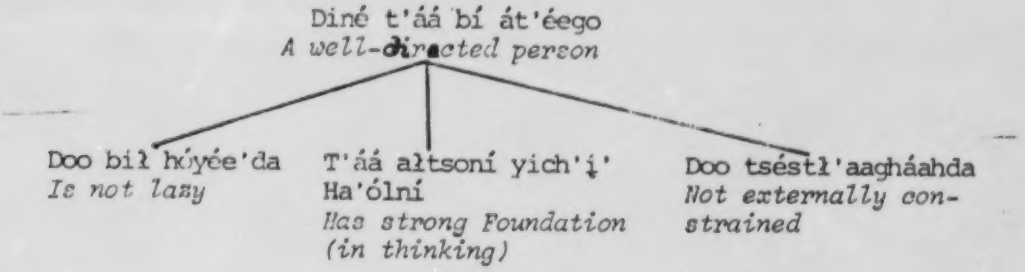
One term arose throughout the interview and denotes the desired state of an educated Navajo individual: dine t'aa bi at'eego (People + just + they themselves are + as they are = Well-directed person = well-disciplined person). This term has three major subclassifications, as described in the following tree diagram.



The vertical slanting tree-lines indicate the relationship of taxonomy. Thus, the line between No. 1 and the topmost term could be read in Navajo as "Dine doo bil hoyee'dago dine t'aa bi at'eego at'e" or "People who are not lazy are people who are well-directed." The term "at'e (is a kind of)" denotes taxonomy and is placed at the end of a simple sentence.

Note also that there are horizontal lines. These denote the relationships of sequence and implication. Thus, a speaker might first say

> "Dine doo bil hoyee'dago, dine t'aa bi at'eego at'e (People who are not lazy are people who are well-directed)"

and then later say

> "Aadoo [or Ako] dine t'aa altsoni yich'i' ha'olnigo dine 'aa bi at'eego at'e (=And then [or "thus"] people who have strong foundation are people who are well-directed.)".

In other words, No. 1 is a precursor or precondition for No. 2.

In the remainder of this discussion, we will provide simply the quality itself (e.g. doo bil hoyee'da = not lazy) rather than the full sentence or phrase. The Navajo term itself will first appear, followed by a dictionary translation either from **The Dictionary of the Navajo Language** (Young and Morgan, 1980), or a translation analogous to it. This will in turn be followed by a translation whose meaning is better related to the contexts of what the informants happened to be discussing.

The meaning of a well-disciplined person in Navajo is not entirely the same as it is in English. It means that an individual listens caretuly to what is said, is willing to work hard, and deals well with stress. It also implies that while a person should be patient, attentive and tough, the patience and attentiveness is not to be imposed externally, through threats of punishment. The latter is best seen as an external suppression of Navajo speech and behavior, while Navajo discpline originates from within a person. As will be seen in Sectión 6 this difference is important.

4.1. A: DOO BIL HOYEE'DA (NOT + LAZY = NOT LAZY = ALERT)

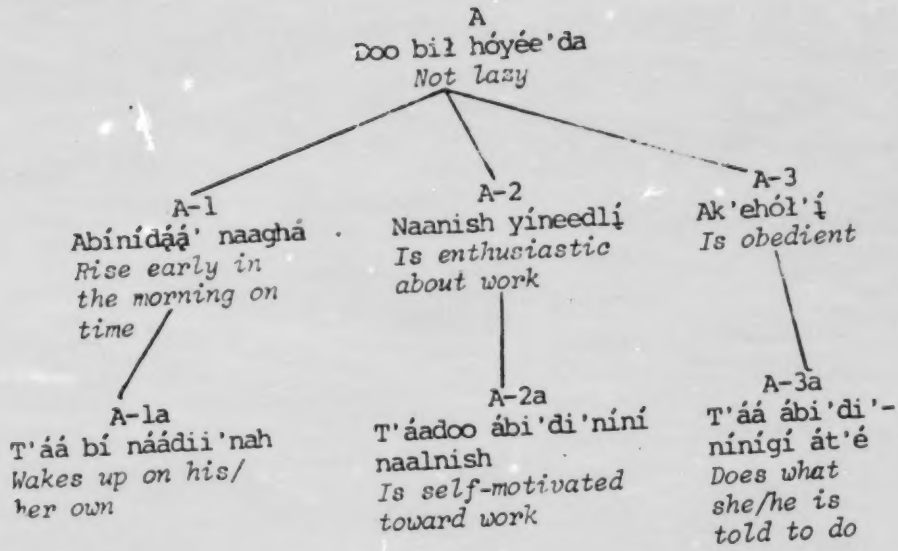
The quality translated here as "not being lazy" also carries with it the meaning of alertness, ability to pay attention to what is going on, a state of good health, and the capacity to act quickly and spontaneously. This term involves three subcategories, each of which is a precondition for the other. Each subcatetory term in turn illustrates further the connotations of alertness and spontaneity.

Parents reported that they teach their children not to be lazy even before they are of the age to enter school, and they do so through a variety of direct and indirect means. The nature of these means is the subject of discussion in the following subsections.

4.1.1. A1: ABINIDAA' NAAGHA (IN THE MORNING + ARE ABOUT = ARE ABOUT PROMPTLY IN THE MORNING = RISES ON TIME EARLY IN THE MORNING)

Spontaneity and health, here, have long been asociated in the traditional Navajo culture with rising early in the morning and running. In earlier times particuarly, many Navajo children were expected to rise early, even before daybreak, to run, even if it were cold or snowing. Not only were children expected to be healthy and spontaneous; they were intended to become inured to the stress and suffering they would face as a normal course of events in later life.

Parents pointed out, however, that children did not usually adopt the practice willingly. Older men, particularly, mention how they had to pick up the children and make them run. In fact, if there were snow on the ground, the chilren would be thrown out into the snow, while the older men would roll around


A
Doo bił hóyée'da
Not lazy
A-1
Abínídą́ą́' naaghá
Rise early in the morning on time
A-2
Naanish yíneedlį́
Is enthusiastic about work
A-3
Ak'ehół'į́
Is obedient
A-1a
T'áá bí nádii'nah
Wakes up on his/her own
A-2a
T'áadoo ábi'di'níní naalnish
Is self-motivated toward work
A-3a
T'áá ábi'di'-níníígí át'é
Does what she/he is told to do

in it. The more the children kicked and protested the longer they were kept there. The children soon learned that it was better not to protest.

On the other hand, this practice was always carried out in a joking context, and was not intended as a cruel means of inuring the child to hardship. Two or three older relatives, including perhaps the grandfather, would pick a time when it had snowed, and, amidst laughter, take the screaming child outside and deposit him in the snow. As adults then reported, they, as children, would soon like to join these morning runs, in part, in response to the humorous context and close companionship with which they had started out.

One speaker in the community describes how he instituted running early in the morning for his boys, at Rock Point, and--although his is now in a distinct minority--continues this today. For other speakers, there are other ways to instill the appropriate values.

-----Díí yastah ná'ánah dóó ná'iiltin dóó abínídą́ą́' na'adá áádóó yiłkáahdą́ą́' tádídíín dóó naadą́'áłgai bee sohodizin éí díí sha'áłchíní bee bich'į' yáshti'.

** *I teach my children about getting into snow, racing early, rising early in the morning and praying with corn pollen and white corn meal each morning.*

-----Díí sha'áłchíní éí abínídą́ą́' nááhodiishnił, áko doo nízh-diijeehgóó éí t'ááłá'á dóó níléí neeznáajį' há e'eshtah áádóó éí tó sikaz hak'iyaashkááh, áko éí binahjį' t'áá hó náázhdiijah dajizlį́į́'.

** *So, if my children did not get up right away, when I woke them up, I would count from one to ten and then would throw cold water on them; as a result, they now rise up early on their own.*

-----Áádóó díí abínígo nízhdiijahgo éí naadą́'áłgaii ts'aa' bee há séłką́ áádóó tádídíín dó' há séłtsoos łeh.

** *Then, when they had arisen I would place white corn meal and corn pollen for them in a bowl.*

-----Áádóó abínídą́ą́' ch'éehásh'ishgo tséédazhdilzį́įh, díigi ádóní hodishníigo, shikék'ehgóó ádadoní hodishníigo, táadi daats'í ákónáhoosh'į́įh.

** *And then, early in the morning, I would take them out to pray, I would teach them (through repetition) perhaps three times, the manner in which they would say these prayers.*

-----Áádóó bik'ihjį́' éí ch'íníáhásh'ishgo, t'ááłá'á jinízínígo ch'íhwiish'éeshgo t'áá hó shináál tsodazhdilzin łeh.

** *And then later, when I would take them aside, one-by-one, they would pray on their own in my presence.*

-----Áádóó díí bik'ijį́' éí, t'áá bí ch'ínákahgo, t'áá bí tsodadilzin łeh.

** *And then still later, they would usually go out and pray on their own.*

-----Jó díí t'áá kojí iinánígíí éí doo ádahozhdeeláágóó áádóó doo hoł hóyée'góó t'éiyá bits'ą́ą́dóó béesoo hóló jiní.

** *You see, only when one is not lazy will one successfully acquire money and use it to carry on this livelihood we have as Navajo from day-to-day.*

Rock Point staff and other community acknowledged the importance parents held to the disposition to arise spontaneously, but added that **few people actually still instituted the practice of the morning run.** Other informants made a similar observation and maintained that they stressed the quality of **arriving on time to one's destination** as an approximate replacement for the older practice of running.

Thus, the whole object of running early was to instill in the children a desire rise up on one's own (T'aa bi naadii nah). Just because many no longer do this is not to infer that Navajos

no longer have the resolve to achieve. Other ways have been found to instill these values, and one of these is simply to get to a place on time, such as school.

4.1.2. A2: NAANISH YINEEDLI (WORK + IS ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT IT = ONE IS ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT WORK).

Navajos we interviewed expected that the capacity and willingness to wake up on one's own should be easily generalizable to being able to undertake work spontaneously. In addition, this work ethic is not to be seen as a compulsion (as sometimes described in the Western literature) but as an ethic whose importance is explained in the religious and cultural teachings of the family.

-----Díí kojí ółta' haz'áájí ałdó' t'áadoo bahat'aadí t'áá ákónáánát'é díí naakits'áadahjį' ajighááh dóó yówohjį' náás dahnáázhdiidááh dóó díkwíí shįį naanish ał'ąą át'éego binááhoo'aah.

** *This education that one gets is also definitely the same as our traditional livelihood, thus, one will finish the 12th grade level and go on to higher schooling, from whence he will learn several different ways of living.*

-----Dįį náásdi doo ha'íínílníígóó, adahodiniláago t'áá íłhoshgo ha'ii'aahgo, éí doodago t'óó dahootahgóó naníiłka'go, ákót'éego éí doo iiná wolyéeda", shi'doo'niid.

** *I was also taught that later in life you find that if you are not patient, or if you are lazy and sleep until sun-up or else wander about from one house to another, this is not life.*

-----"Áko díí kót'éego éí ííyisí na'nitin nít'ęę'", dajiní.

** *"This is the way real teaching used to be".*

-----Díí t'áá konibąąhdóó hodees'áago, kǫ' diltłi' dóó tó dóó ch'iiyáán dóó tsésk'eh haz'ąągi, kodóó hodees'á, áádóó ch'íhool'á níléí tł'óo'di nááhást'ą, kót'éego sha'ałchíní bich'į' yáshti'.

** *would instruct my children in all the teachings from this very fireplace, from the burning fire itself, and the water and food and the place of bedding, and from all outside activities.*

-----"Kwe'é díí iináhígíí kót'é, díí hazhó'ó baa'ákonoosį̨h áádóó níláhjí ólta'jí shį́ į́ ałdó' t'áá ákot'é", hodishníi-go bínahonishtin.

** *I would tell them "this is the way we take very seriously the way we live, at this very place, and there is another life through school that is the same also".*

The ethical nature of this enthusiasm can be seen in the nature of what is referred to here as self-motivation (i.e. t'aadoo abi'di'nini naalnish = without + being told + works). That is, one begins work spontaneously because it is a good and sensible thing to do in the world.

From ages 3 - 4, the individual was supposed to carry in wood and engage in some household tasks on one's own, and this initiative is supposed to transfer to the school setting.

4.1.3. A3: AK'EHOL'I (OBEDIENT)

It follows that if an individual is capable of initiative, then he or she is teachable in other skills. The individual is thus willing to do what he or she is told to do (t'aa abi' di'ninį̨gi at'e), and does not stray away to do other things. It cannot be stressed too often that obedience here is not the blind obedience to external constraint or sanction. As the quote in 4.1.2. supports, this obedience is supposed to originate from within the individual. Again, one obeys because it is right and sensible to do so in this world.

Navajo adults teaching in the school stress that it is better if the quality of spontaneous obedience, as well as those of other sorts of initiative (see 4.1.1. - 4.1.2.), are first taught in the home. In turn these are more easily taught in the

home if the family possesses livestock. Without livestock, much of the practicum experience necessary to support teaching is more difficult to come by, and behavior problems emerge in the classroom as a result.

-----Jó eii dibéda shijée'go éí áłchíní bich'į' yil'á, díí áníléél bi'di'ní.
** *You see, when one possesses sheep, (their care) is the child's duty; he is told "do this with the sheep".*

-----Jó díí łahgóó díí bich'į' al'áadooígíí ádaadin lá, áko díí áłchíní al'áagi doo bił bééhózinda.
** *You see, at some homes, (these) duties are lacking for the children; as a result, these children do not know how to be well-disciplined (at school).*

-----Áádóó díí ama dóó azhé'é ła' doo ba'áłchíní yich'į' yádaałti'da, áko kodi nehekáahgo éí t'áá béé hózíní ła' t'áá bíighahá yaanaakai.
** *And then some mothers and fathers, do not teach (i.e. talk to) their children; thus, when they get to school, it is obvious, for some get into mischief.*

-----Áko díí áłchíní ła' t'áadoo é'él'į yaanaakai łeh, áádóó nááná ła' éí bich'į' yájíłti'go nizhónígo naháaztą́ą łeh, díigi át'éego nizhónígo dahonéł'į́į łeh.
** *Thus, some of these children will not behave, and others will behave when talked to, they will sit still and listen, generally; these children will look you in the eye as you talk to them.*

-----Díį́ áłchíní bich'į' yáti'go doo da'íists'ą́'ígíí éí ts'ídá daats'í ałnií' bilááhdóó ákót'ée łeh.
** *When they are being taught over half of these children will not listen closely.*

Indeed, one of the stated purposes of the school has been to instill the Navajo values to those students whose background does not include raising livestock. The way in which this is done will be explained in 5.1.1. and 5.1.2., in the description of clanship.

While the Navajo way of life is strongly viable in the view of the informants, wage work made accessible by education is increasingly important, and efforts are being made to integrate the two.

-----"Díí shí nohgóó dibé yikah áádóó níláhgóó łįį' bikéé' dínáá', t'áadoo yikéé' dóya'áda níláhgóó bíni'dii diné da'ólta', níléí kojí bikéé' ahidínízį, shi'di'nínígíí biniinaa t'áadoo íílta'da.

** *I myself did not go to school because I was told "there are sheep here and horses there, go after them, there is no one to care for them, let the others go to school".*

-----Áko nidi k'adgo díí naanish bee iinánígíí t'éiyá aláahgo yee béesoo ádeiił'į.

** *For the present, livelihood through wage work is the only way of acquiring more money.*

-----Nááná díí kojí dibé bee iinánígíí éí k'adgo t'áá ach'į'go beę béesoo ál'į t'áá hazhó'ó t'óó bikiiníigo áádóó t'óó bee atah yá'áhoot'éhégo hóló.

** *At present, sheep are kept mainly for food and to keep one in psychological health, livelihood through sheep are a source of very little money.*

-----Áádóó díí dibé bee iinánígíí éí ałk'idą́ą́' éiyá t'áá aníí biziilgo bee iiná ál'į nít'ęę'.

** *In the past, livelihood through sheep was indeed the strongest means to a successful life.*

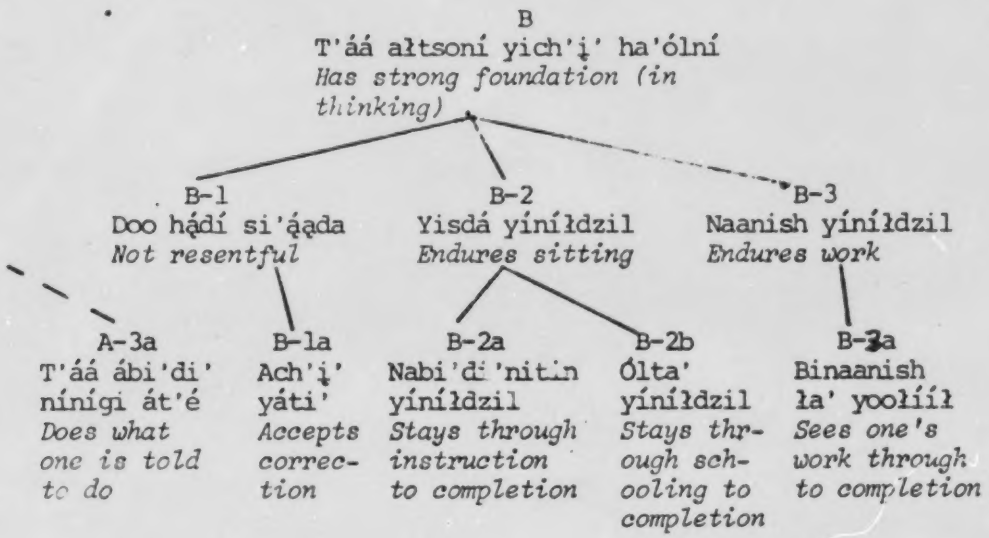
-----Áádóó dííjį́įdi éí yádaati'go, "íiníłta'go dóó náá'íí-níłta'go t'éiyá díí naanishígíí nídidííléél áádóó bee yá'át'éehgo hiníináadoo", daha'ní.

** *And then now, many say "go to school, finish, and get a higher education, only then will you acquire a good job and through it lead a good life".*

4.2 B: T'AA ALTSONI YICH'I' HA'OLNI (HAS STRONG FOUNDATION [IN THINKING])

If a person has internalized the capacity for initiative, alertness and spontaneity from teachings about Navajo life, then it follows that the individual has a strong foundation in

thought. "Ha'olni," (or also "fortitude") denotes the ability to accept constructive criticism without offense, to pay attention to instruction, and to follow through one's work and learning to completion.



4.2.1. B1: DOO HADI SI'AADA (NOT + SHORT-TEMPERED + STATE OF BEING = NOT RESENTFUL [OF BEING DISCIPLINED])

An individual is not supposed to be overly sensitive to criticism; he or she is supposed to accept it as a matter of course. Acceptance and enduring of such correction (ach'i' yati' yinildzil = accepts correction) is thus a part of this quality. In such acceptance the concept overlaps in meaning with the attribute t'aa abi'di'ninigi at'e (one does what he/she is told to do).

Again, these qualities are very different from those of external sanctions and punishment often associated with the idea of discipline in Western "back-to-the basics" eduction. Discipline, here, almost always is supposed to involve

explanation of why something should not be done, or, reported more frequently, why something went wrong or should not have been done. In the latter cases, a strong person is supposed to remain inwardly calm and confront the outcome of his or her actions for what they are, and take responsibility for them.

4.2.2. B2: YISDA YINILDZIL (REMAINING IN PLACE + ABOUT IT + HAS ENDURING STRENGTH = SITS + ENDURES IS = ENDURES SITTING)

Following from an ability to remain inwardly calm is the ability to concentrate on important matters and see them through to their final outcome. While an individual should want to do these things as a matter of course, relatives and companions of the individual will observe that he or she sits patiently through instruction. Thus, again, the individual is not supposed to sit passively through these activities; a person should also show interest through asking questions. This double-sided quality will be discussed more in 4.3. below.

Also, an aspect of enduring sitting is the abilty to endure school in general (olta' yinildzil). The ability to sit still, follows from the ability to accept and endure criticism, and in turn allows one to do well in school. This causality does not mean, however, that children are simply intended to sit passively by and absorb what is told them. They are intended to ask questions and show initiative at the same time. Thus, they are evaluated by their ability to concentrate and ask intelligent questions. The following set of attributes illustrates the distinction between those who are obedient and

those who are not. Note and compare these to the description in 4.1.3. of children who have not learned to be obedient.

-----Jó díí ałchíní ádaat'éedi, áádóó da'íists'ą́ą'di áádóó nida'í-
dílkidi binahjį' ałchíní ak'ida'diitį́į́hígíí hoł bóéhózin łeh.
** *You see, one will know how well the children learn by the way they are, and the way they listen and how they ask questions.*

-----Jó díí ałchíní nazhnitingo ła' doo da'íists'ą́ą'da łeh, áko
t'óóda yidlohgo ahídílchid łeh.
** *You see, some children do not listen when they are being taught, and thus simply laugh and play around with one another.*

-----Áko díí ałchíní íists'ą́'ígíí éí nídeiidiyiiléh, jó nideiídish-
k'idgo yaa dahalne' łeh; áádóó shí éí shimá t'áá akóní
daanii łeh.
** *Thus, when the children are incorporating the instruction, they will answer you by saying "my mother tells me the same thing" as they answer you when you ask them about (the lesson).*

4.2.3. B3: NAANISH YINILDZIL (WORK + ABOUT IT + IS ENDURING STRENGTH = WORK + IS ENDURED = ENDURES WORK)

Work (naanish) is translated fairly easily from Navajo to English. On one hand it can denote wage work (naalnish), while on the other it can denote general productivity, particularly in the maintenance of a good herd of livestock, productive farm and well-kept household. Rather obviously crucial to the ability to endure work is the ability to complete it (binaanish la' yooliil = one's work + some of it + it is finished = One sees his/her work through to completion.

The school takes a part in instilling this quality, as is illustrated in the following description of a class in basket making. In addition, the instructor stresses that it is these

qualities, which, when combined with the economic value of the finished product, are valuable to making a living in later life.

Navajos here are usually unable to obtain a livelihood through stock raising alone, and must depend on wage labor for various portions of household income. This wage work, however, is marginal, and often temporary. Thus, people here must make a living from a variety of sources. The following quotes illustrate.

-----Díí tsaa' ál'į́ bíhojiił'ą́ą'go, ájíł'į́įgo haanahaniihdoo, áko t'áá nijilnish ndi t'áá bíighah háká'análwo' doo.
** *When one masters this basket making, he can make them and sell them; thus, even if one has a (paying) job, extra money on the side will be there to help him.*

-----Díí nijilnish nít'ęę́'go hats'ą́ą' ni' kódzaago, t'áá éí t'éiyá hanaanish ázhdooliiłgo bee náás jidoogháát.
** *When one is laid off from a paying job, the making of a basket alone, can become a full-time job, and by means of it, he can make a living.*

Navajos here assume that an education stressing the ability to endure work in school will enhance the contributions to home not only because complementary sources of income will be available. Contributions are assumed to be enhanced because the work involved in both areas is not extremely different.

4.3. C: DOO TSESTL'AAGHAAHDA (NOT + EXTERNALLY CONSTRAINED = IS AUTONOMOUS)

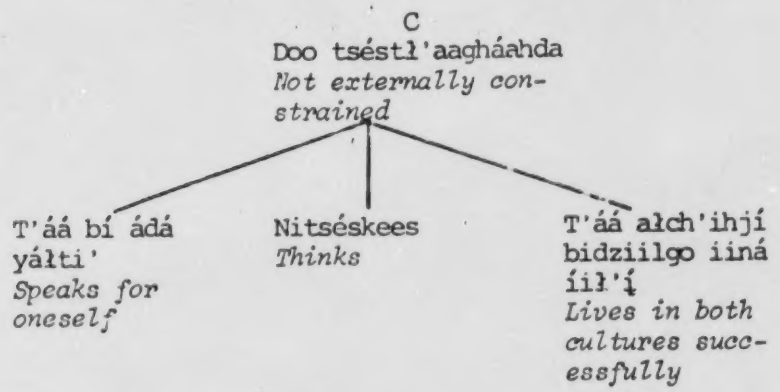
The ability to be autonomous is intended to be the culmination of a life of integrated patience, endurance and initiative, which is based on a firm foundation of teaching. The values of such a life have generally been taught within the family, and depend in considerable degree on **practicum** learning

experience provided through the raising of livestock.

The school, however, is seen as clearly capable of reinforcing these ideas. And oddly enough, such reinforcement is often done through teaching of subjects such as basket weaving. While these subjects may seem to an outside observer as non-essential, they are clearly intended to impart values directly to the student.

These values are not learned for their own sake, however. They are learned within a widely-encompassing social context of family, clan and political system. This context not only involves social organization; it also includes a constellation of ethics which involves love, warmth, generosity, and a security based on a certainty similar to that of the Golden Rule: if an individual extends such generosity to others, he or she will be able to receive them.

Thus, to be an autonomous individual, one must know one's social and ethical context, and this can be diagrammed as follows:



4.3.1. C1: K'E BIL BEEHOZIN (K'E + WITH IT + ONE KNOWS = IS FAMILIAR WITH INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS)

The Navajo term K'e, can loosely be translated as close-relative interpersonal relationships, or "clanship." It is a theory of social organization writ large. Included in this theory is a classification system of clan identity with which each individual is affiliated. By means of this system, persons can identify themselves according to the clan of their mother, their father, their maternal grandmother and their paternal grandmother. Thus, when introducing themselves to others, Navajos will begin by naming their mother's clan, then their father's, then maternal and paternal grandparents' clans.

The following is an illustration of the way in which an individual introduces himself properly at a public gathering or meeting. Note how he specifies his place of origin as well as mother's and father's clan.

——Nishłíníqíí éí Áshįįhí nishłį
That which I am is that Salt Clan I am
** I am of the Salt Clan

——Tł'ízí łání éí bá shíshchíín
Many Goat (Clan) that for them I am born (i.e. father).
** I am born for the Many Goat Clan (i.e. Father's Clan)

——Tódích'íínii éí dashicheii
Bitter Water (Clan) My maternal grandparents (they are)
** My maternal grandparents' clan is Bitter Water.

——Tábąąhá éí dashinálí
Edge Water Clan that they are my paternal grandparents

——Hashtł'ishn ii éí łą' ba'ałk'ee sédá
Mud Clan that one of them in her house I dwell
** My wife's clan is the Mud Clan.

——Íí nishyéhíqíí éí Tom B. yinishyé
The name I am called by that is Tom B. I am called.
** My name is Tom B.

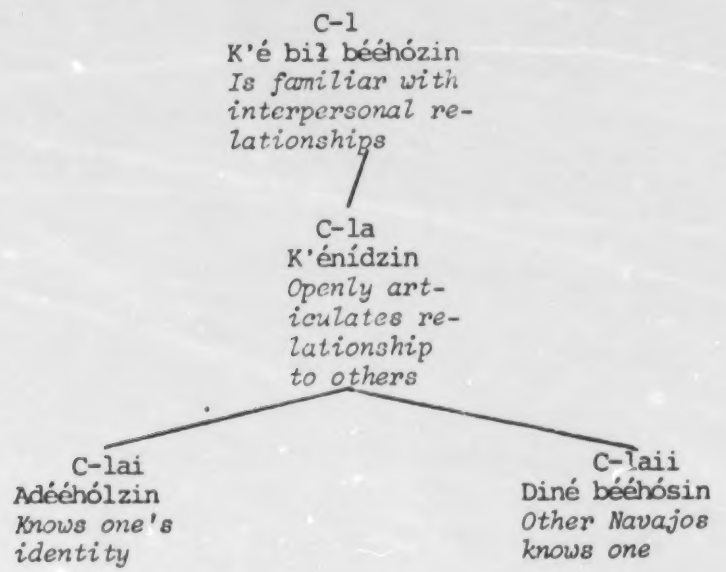
Such a clan system is what would be referred to in anthropological theory as a descent system. The system here is matrilineal and exogamous, and it is recognized by Navajos as the equivalent of incest for two individuals of the opposite sex to marry, cohabit, or even to socialize in some other ways (such as at school dances) unless they are of different maternal clans. To commit such incest brings on a number of mental and physical illnesses which are difficult to cure, even with extensive ceremonial intervention (Morgan, m.s., 1980).

On the other hand, membership within the same clan involves a number of rights and responsibilities toward other members. An individual thus has rights to be helped economically, or to obtain other support on the basis of fellow clan membership. In turn, the individual is obligated to reciprocate. Associated with this system are emotions of warmth, compassion, love, and generosity (Witherspoon, 1975; Lamphere, 1980). These are, ideally, at least, supposed to offset the onus associated with fulfilling various obligations (Downs, 1964). Finally, combined with both the obligations and associated values and emotions are roles. It is often the honor and obligation of uncles to inculcate certain values and impart certain instruction to the children, as they grow up, and it is the obligation of the children to listen attentively and learn well.

From the Navajo standpoint, this theory is also justified and explained by a constellation of legends. These legends can be seen as part of still another constellation of prayers and

moral imperatives which are closely associated with landmarks. The imperatives guide an individual in how he or she must be oriented to the social and environmental milieu. The orientation, in turn, is also learned in part through the practice of raising livestock, and verbalized and made rational through the legends which are learned at different stages of an individual's development.

The generic Navajo term, K'e, thus stands for not only the ethics of reciprocity mentioned above, but also for knowledge of the social structure embedded within this system of ethics. It is also assumed that if an individual can understand the system of ethics, he or she must know the clan system (k'e bil beehosin). This means that knowledge of the clan system is seen by others who interact with an individual as evidence that he or she has internalized the system of ethics. For an individual to know one's clan affilition, then, it is assumed that one must have grown up as a Navajo. If one does not know one's clan, then others infer that there are many other things as well which the individual does not know.



Navajo children who are familiar with the clan system can thus introduce themselves properly. If Navajo children familiar with the clan system are also familiar with the proper way of acting toward others, then these manners can be seen as applying to school. A Navajo teacher descibes how it is easier to discipline students by appealing to their clan membership. Implied here is that she can appeal to their sense of right and wrong, rather than having to impose external constraints on behavior.

-----Díí k'éhígíí ałdó' t'áá bee bich'į' yáshti', áko éí binahjį' yá'át'ééh da'ólta', shí ałdó' ayóogo shimá dashiłní.

** *They (the children) learn very well the special Navajo greetings that I teach to them; as a result they refer to me as "my mother".*

-----Áłchíní k'éhígíí bee nanitingo éí yinahjį' ayóogo hóyą́, áko doo ákǫ́ǫ́ át'íįgóó t'ááłáhádi bich'į' háá'ádzihgo ak'ehół'íí łeh.

** *When the children are taught the special Navajo greetings, it builds good character; thus, when they are doing wrong I correct them only once and they obey.*

As an individual matures and learns these clan relationships properly, he or she knows one's identity well within the overall social context (adeeholzin). This carries with it a sense of personal security and is comparable to ideas in conventional education such as "self image" and "self esteem." Only here, the Navajo concept is more detailed, better integrated, and can be learned by a child in greater depth.

A thorough knowledge of one's own identity is the precondition for being known by other Navajos (Dine beehosin). While little detail was supplied by those interviewed here, Navajos elsewhere explained how raising livestock and everyday activities would result in good self image and healthy attitude toward others. The following quote is from a Navajo in the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute Area, and illustrates how such development works.

-----Ákǫ shitsi' tł'ízí la' bilíį'.
** *Thus, my daughter (comes to own) some goats as livestock.*

-----Ákǫ éí tł'ízí tá'í niyiiłchíih.
** *Thus, that goat gives birth to triplets.*

-----Ákǫ éí tł'ízíyázhí yaa' áhályąągo nídaniyóóh.
** *Thus, my daughter takes care of the kids as she raises them.*

-----Ákǫ éí tł'ízí t'áá ałtso ayóó'áyóní.
** *Thus, the daughter loves all those goats.*

-----Ákǫ díí tł'ízí ayóí'áyónídóó yinaalnishgo binahjį' bídó' bee bitah yá'áhoot'éèh dóó yíneedlį.
** *Thus, through the loving work she does in caring for them, The girl in turn become healthy and enthusiastically happy.*

-----Ákó shitsi', shídó' díí dibé bee iiná ál'íįgi bee na'nitinígíí shee hóló̧o̧doo", níigo yókeedgo kodóó bee na'nishtin.

** *Thus, my daughter says to me "I would like to learn the teachings of how to make a living by means of having sheep, also to possess the knowledge of it", thus, I teach her.*

-----Ákó kodóó dibé bee iinánígíí bee nanitingo abínidą́ą́' níléí dibé bighangóoda yigáát łeh ą́ádóó ayázhída yá'iił-tsóód łeh, índa nida'iiłchíihgoda yaa'áhályą́ą łeh.

** *Thus, as she is taught how to make a living by having sheep, she will begin to go to the sheep corral early in the morning and feed the lambs, or will take care of the lambs during lambing season.*

-----Ákó díí dibé yaa'áhályánígíí binahjį́ éí t'áá bi binitsékees haleeh.

** *Thus, as she cares for the sheep her thought and decision making ability will be developed.*

The speaker continues by explaining that once this attitude and orientation have developed, knowledge of the clan system follows, and will confirm and maintain good character.

-----Ákó díí ayóó'ó'ó'ní dóó siih hwiinidzin wolyéhígíí ádiih yilyéehgo éí binitsékees yileeh.

** *Thus, the love and awareness of how one should make a good lįpelihood will develop within her and it will become her thought.*

-----Díí áłchíní náás deeyáadi, díí ádóone'é nilínígíí dóó dabik'éígíí t'áá ałtso yee íishjání á'dólzin dooleeł.

** *As the children grow older, they will identify themselves by how they are related to other clans.*

-----Ą́ádóó náásdi díí binahjį́' naagháágóó, haashį́į́ honíłtéelgo diné béédahósin doo ą́ádóó yéédahósin dooleeł.

** *And as the children grow older they will be known and respected by other people, and vice versa.*

-----Ákó díí kót'éego áłchíní neeyą́ągo éí náásdi iiná yíneedlį́ dooleeł.

** *Thus, if the child is raised in this fashion he will later enjoy his life.*

-----Ákó díí naha'áłchíní k'ehígíí doo bínabiníłtinígóó éí k'éhę́ę ałtso bii' hadiikah, ą́ádóó háadishį́į́ doo k'é dii'níida dooleeł; ą́ádóó hónáásdóó háádishį́į́ diné niidlíinii t'óó bita'ígi át'éego nihaa dahane' dooleeł, jó díídígíí nihí kojí diné niidlíinii bits'ą́ą hasti'.

** *Thus, if our children are not taught the values of k'é, we the Navajo people as a whole will lose it, and as a result we will stop the practices of k'é and then we the Navajo people will go astray with no meaning and begin to do foolish things; as Navajos it is our sacred responsibility to keep this from happening.*

-----Áko díigi át'éego binitsékees yileeh dóó bee bidziil yileeh áádóó náás yidiiłkáahgóó doo ts'ádoolnihda łeh; áádóó doo ayóogo bił hóyée'da łeh.

** *Thus, this is the way one's thought is developed, and in turn later, one will be friendly and not be lazy.*

Finally, one indicator that individuals have internalized the social knowledge and ethics of K'e is their ability not only to articulate kinship relationships without hesitation (doo yanizinda = not hesitant) but to be able to approach adults and initiate social interaction without hesitation. The following quote illustrates the connection.

-----Jó níléí t'ah da'íiníilta' yąądąą' éí t'áádóó yáníłti'í ho'di'níigo t'óó dzisti' jileeh.

** *You see, when we were in school, we were sometimes told not to talk, and this caused most of us to fear speaking.*

-----Díí k'ad kwe'é áłchíní da'ólta'ígíí éí doo yádanízinda áádóó t'áá ałch'ihjí doo bá nidanitł'ahgóó nida'ídílkid dóó hadahadziih.

** *Now, the children attending this school are not bashful they are explicit in speaking and asking questions in both languages.*

-----Jó t'ah da'íiníita' yąądąą' éí bilagáanaak'ehjí t'éiyá yáti'go bee hazdoodzihígíí dóó saad choizdooł'iiłígíí hoł nanitł'ago, biniinaa łahda doo na'ízhdíłkida łeh.

** *You see, when we were still in school, only English was used for teaching, thus it was difficult to formulate words and find the right words to use.*

-----Áko t'ah níláhdęę' bił da'íiłta'yęę éí k'ad t'óó yádanízin nahalingo nidaakai, áko doo t'áá bí ádáyádaałti'da.

** *Thus, those with whom I went to school are even now still bashful when I see them, they cannot speak up for themselves.*

-----Díí k'ad kǫǫ́ áłchíní da'ółta'ígíí éí doo yádanízinda t'óó nahgóó joogháát nidi ayóogo k'é dahalní.

** *Now, the children going to school here are not bashful, they greet you in the right way when you walk among them.*

-----Díí kǫǫ́ ałchíní da'ólta'ígíí k'é nidaazti'góó ayóogo bił béédahózin, áádóó t'áá éí binahjį' doo ádaaǫeii-nít'įįgóó ayóoųo hach'į' yádaałti' dóó t'áá éí binootįį'.

** *The children going to school here are taught the proper Navajo greeting, and master it; and because of that they are not shy; they are outspoken and that in turn benefits them in their speaking and learning.*

-----Áko díí kǫǫ́ ałchíní da'ólta'ígíí kót'éego baa'ákonisin, jó díí t'áá adaałtsísídą́ą́' k'éhígíí yee nideinitin kwe'é.

** *Thus, children who go to school here are taught the proper greeting while they are still young.*

Another Navajo teacher makes a similar observation in English

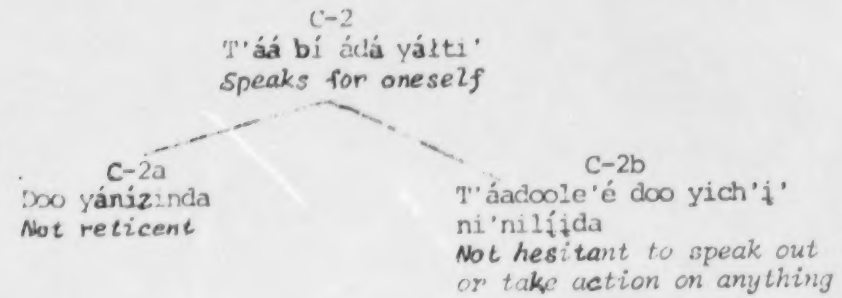
> The community people--the parents of the students--they come in for the parent-teachers conferences and they stress it a lot even in high school--that the clan is important everywhere you go. You know, you find the same things that a child should know; that way they will be open-minded and they will feel comfortable with other people and they will talk to them and they will not tease them or something like that--that gives them confidence.

One may wonder why someone who did not know one's clan would be teased, or would have to worry about being teased. The reason follows from what has been said above, that if a person knows the clan system, it indicates that he or she has internalized the ethics of k'e. If a person then is not familiar with the clan system, teasing him or her serves as a way of chiding the individual into concentrating better on what they should be learning.

4.3.2. C2: T'AA BI ADA YALTI' (JUST + ON ONE'S OWN ONE + SPEAKS

The quality of not being withdrawn and being able to speak

for oneself is also an element of another, more generic, Navajo goal, denoted by the phrase doo yista'da (not withdrawn). Other elements can be related to this quality as follows:



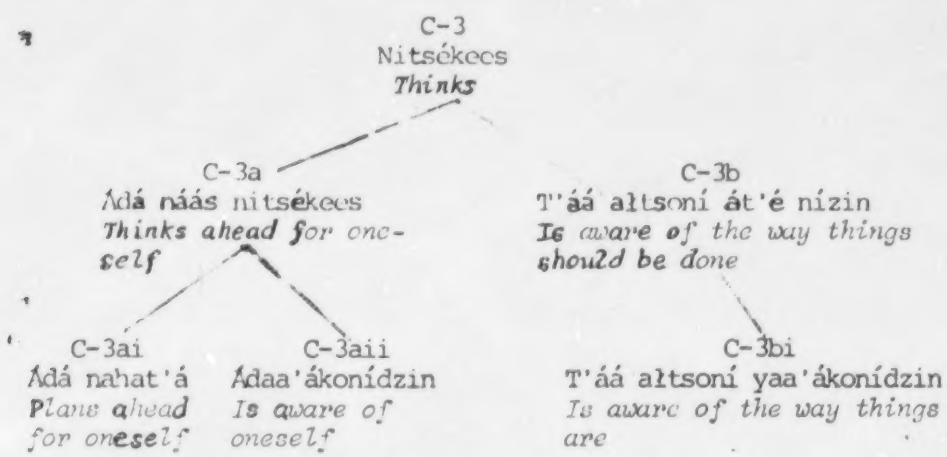
The quality of not being reticent (doo yanizinda) carries with it an emphasis on taking action. Thus, an individual no longer reticent is outgoing and quick to act and respond to other people. Ability to speak forth (t'aadoole'e doo yich'i' ni'nilíida) clearly denotes a more restricted capacity of speech, but also subsumes the ability to organize one's thinking in order to engage in detailed discourse or oratory.

This oratorical ability (t'aa bi ada yalti = speaks for himself) is thus seen as far more than what is often associated with speech-making by Western thinkers. That is, rather than a simple "fast-talking" ability to appeal to peoples' passions, for Navajos it is more reminiscent of the Classical oratorical skills: i.e. to organize one's thought and speech to educate,

inform, and enlighten, as well as to sway, public opinion.

4.3.3. C3: NITSEKEES (THINKS)

The quote in 4.3.1. suggests that when Navajos attended English-only schools, not only was their social development hindered. Social reticence carried over to reluctance to undertake the understanding of important concepts. The understanding of important concepts, in turn, is related to the overall ability to think. Thinking, here, is less separated conceptually from action, than in the popular Western sense (Witherspoon, 1977) and is connected to action through the capacity of planning.



The following attributes describe how congruent schooling should be to the development of good thought through the right kind of life

-----Ts'ídá t'ááhó ólta'ígíí dóó iiná nizhónígo ádeeshłíił jinízingo, íizh-nízingo t'éiyá ákót'éego ázhdoołíił.

** *A person has to be committed to being educated and to maintain his life successfully; he has to desire greatly this first in order for it to happen.*

-----Jó átsé baanitsízdookos, "díí ólta'ígíí nizhónígo ádeeshłíił, dooshlée' t'óó bee naashnéélá, ts'ídá ni'deeshta'" jiniiziihgo éí nizh'doołtah.

** *"I will successfully complete my schooling; I will not allow myself to fail; I will carry on to completion", one has to commit oneself so, and he will surely finish.*

-----Áko ákwe'é hanitsékees hazlį'ęę éí bi'jiilaa dooleeł.

** *Thus, whatever a person decides to do, he will do.*

-----Nááná ákóne' éí, "nizhónígo naanishígíí chóiideesht'eeł", jinízingo baatsínáázdookos áádóó naanishígíí nizhónígo chójoost'e'go, jó éí hanitsékeesígíí binää'jiidlaa dooleeł.

** *Secondly, a person should consider that, as he gains a good job, he should think about it and realize that he has accomplished another thought of his.*

-----Áko díí ólta'ígíí t'éiyá agháago há nidoolnish, ndi dzinízingo t'éiyá nízhdidooléél dóó há ádooníił.

** *Thus, this schooling will really benefit a person, but one has to desire greatly its benefits, and thus they will become his.*

-----Jó k'ad éí nihí t'éiyá nihá nitsídeikees nahalin, díí ánáádíídlíił, kót'éego anáádíídlíił danihidii'ní, áko náásdi háágóóshįį dasidoh-kaigóó éí t'áá nihí ádá nitsídaahkeesdoo.

** *You see, now we are the only ones trying to think for you, "do this next, this is the way you should do", we tell you, "thus, as you go on in life, later on you will have to make your own decisions".*

-----Niléí nida'siyołta' dóó yówohjį' éí t'áá nihí ádá nitsídaakees dooleeł, éí áadi éí doo háiida nihésįigo kónáání'nééh nihiłníi-daadoo.

** *When you finish the school and then you have to think for yourself, then you will have no one waiting on you, to tell you what to do next".*

-----"Jó áadi índa t'áá nihí nihinitsékees silį'ígíí choiinoł'įįdoo", dabidii'ní.

** *"You see, then we will have to use your own developed thought", we would teach them.*

-----T'ááhó ájít'é éí t'ááhó ádá nitsídzíkees óolyé.

** *When one is fully committed to life, it means he is able to think for himself.*

While this connection may not be difficult to understand, it is important to note that the Navajos here attributed any reluctance to plan ahead for one's family and livelihood not to their cultural values, but to the suppression of their speech

and inquiry in earlier schooling.

The term nahat'a, or planning, carries with it the connotaton of the power to have an effect on the environment and assume leadership. Planning for something, in Navajo terms, carries with it a far greater liklihood that the thing planned for will actually happen. This likelihood is based on the Navajo assumption that the capacity of thought affects the environment directly. It therefore follows that people who are able to plan properly are more effective as individuals.

This close relationship between thought and effectiveness also implies that if an individual makes serious mistakes, he or she will be able to correct them on their own, without the intervention of large numbers of family and friends. Thus, the quality of self awareness (adaa'akonidzin = for oneself + one takes care) involves an aspect of individual autonomy which follows an ability to stand forth and speak on one's own behalf.

Two additional cautions must be emphasized. Ability to think for oneself distinctly does not imly an individualism in thought divorced from what one has learned. Thinking for oneself implies that an individual is knowledgeable of the total environment (t'aa altsoni yaa'akonizin = just + all things + extensively + one is aware = One is aware of the way things are); and therefore knows how to deal with that environment (t'aa altsoni at'e nisin = just + all things + as they are + one knows what to do = is aware of the way things should be done). And this environment includes the social one defined through the

theories of K'e.

Similarly, while the ability to speak for oneself is often translated as "outspoken," this does nto mean that individuals shout at people or must speak aggressively. Here, "outspoken" should denote the ability to organize one's discourse, not mumble, and be able to explain things unfalteringly.

4.3.4. D: T'AA ALCH'IHJI BIDZIILGO IINA IIL'I (EXACTLY + BOTH WAYS + WITH ENDURING STRENGTH + WAY OF LIFE + ONE LIVES = CAN LIVE VIABLY IN BOTH CULTURES)

In order for an individual to be autonomous (doo tsestl'aaghaahda) an individual must first have character of industry (doo bil hoyee'da) and fortitude (ha'olni), as was explained in 4.2.ff. With these prerequisites an individual can then develop autonomy first through a good understanding of the structure and ethics of his or her social context (k'e bil beehosin), as explained in 4.3.1; then, through an ability to take action (doo yisti'da c.f. 4.3.2.); and then through the development of clear thinking ability (nitsekes c.f. 4.3.3.).

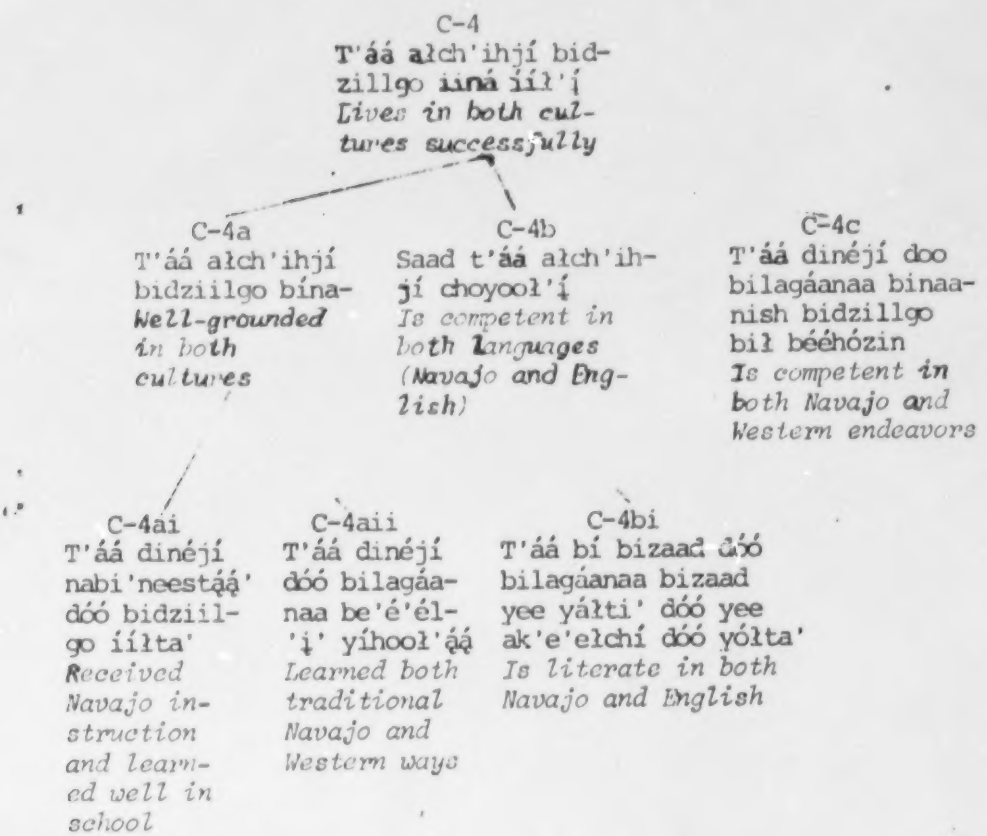
The quotes and illustrations so far suggest that the developing individual should receive the support of both school and family, as he or she grows up. As these conditions are met, however, it follows that the school has the opportunity to take a greater part. Such an opportunity arises because

A. The sphere of the individual's social interaction increases;

B. The tasks therefore expose the individual more and more to influences outside the family and Reservation.

It is therefore little surprise that a mark of an autonomous individual is the ability to negotiate the dominant culture outside the Reservation successfully. It should be remembered, however, that for these Navajos here, biculturalism is built upon a solid basis of Navajo cultural values and skills.

The crucial elements of being able to live in both cultures are illustrated in the tree diagram below.


C-4
T'áá ałch'ihjí bidziilgo iiná ííł'į
Lives in both cultures successfully
C-4a
T'áá ałch'ihjí bidziilgo bínabi'
Well-grounded in both cultures
C-4b
Saad t'áá ałch'ihjí choyooł'į
Is competent in both languages (Navajo and English)
C-4c
T'áá dinéjí doo bilagáanaa binaanish bidziilgo bił bééhózin
Is competent in both Navajo and Western endeavors
C-4ai
T'áá dinéjí nabi'neestą́ą́' dóó bidziilgo ííłta'
Received Navajo instruction and learned well in school
C-4aii
T'áá dinéjí dóó bilagáanaa be'é'él-'į' yíhooł'ą́ą́
Learned both traditional Navajo and Western ways
C-4bi
T'áá bí bizaad dóó bilagáanaa bizaad yee yáłti' dóó yee ak'e'ełchí dóó yółta'
Is literate in both Navajo and English

Being taught well in both cultures (t'aa alch'ihji bidziilgo binabi' dineestaa = just + both cultures + with

steadfastness + has followed the course) conveys the idea that an individual has

A. mastered an intricate course of Navajo life set out for him or her (t'aa dineji nabi'dineestaa' doo bidziilgo iilta' = Just Navajo + teachings to be mastered + and + with steadfastness + in school = has received Navajo instruction and learned well in school); and

B. has proceeded to follow the course through learning both cultures (t'aa dineji doo bilagaanaa be'eel'i' yihool'aa' = just + Navajo + and + Anglo + extended way of life + they learn it).

The assertion that one must first have a good basis in Navajo **before** learning a bicultural approach strongly supports the Rock Point administration position that the program here is **Navajo** education, not a bilingual approach.

In the following quote, the individual stresses the primacy of the Navajo teaching. He points out that while modern life is valuable--indeed indispensible--assimilation of such a life without Navajo tradition will amount to little success.

-----Díí bilagáanaají t'éiyá bee naneestą́ą'go éí t'áá tsésti'ah hazt'i', díí dinéjí iiná bidii'nínígíí éí bilagáanaají bą́ąh ádin t'áá hazhó'ó naanishígíí t'éiyá.

** *When the children are taught only English, they are handicapped; according to the Navajo way, what we call life does not really exist in the Anglo sense; only wage work (exists in the Anglo way of life).*

-----Jó díí diné niidlíinii bilagáaṇaa k'ehgo t'éiyá íhwiil'ą́ą'go éí doo nihidziilda.

** *You see, as for us as Navajos, if we learn only the Anglo's way of life we will never have strength (of thought and planning).*

English is good for wage work, but Navajo is required for a full life.

4.3.5. C4B: SAAD T'AA ALCH'IHJI CHOYOOL'I (LANGUAGE + JUST + BOTH OF THEM + ARE KNOWN = HE/SHE KNOWS HOW TO USE BOTH LANGUAGES)

Knowledge of both languages is a precondition for maintaining the solidarity of the kinship system, as well as living in the Western one. The following quote illustrates how solidarity across generations is better maintained through the seemingly simple act of interpretation.

-----Jó akǫ́ǫ́ k'ad ła' t'áá íiyisí da'jíiłta' ndi t'áá ni' ndaji-jeeh, áádóó ła' t'óó wáan t'éiyá baanáhizhdiikááh, áádóó da-haghanáadi éí, kéyahą́ą́ t'áá bíni'dii naaznil.

** *You see, there are some who have gone on to higher education who end up on foot, and as a result, sometimes turn to drinking and leave their homeland unattended.*

-----Jó k'ad éí díí níláhgóó ła' nihimásání doo da'íiłta'da áko bee bich'į' anídahazt'i'.

** *You see, now there are some of our grandmothers who never went to school; thus, they are in need of help.*

-----Áko díí kwe'é ółta'ígíí éí kót'éego sáanii daazlį́'ígíí bich'į' anáhóót'i'ígi ałchíní bee nanitin.

** *Thus the children are made aware of those grandparents who are in need of help, at the school here.*

-----Jó díí ałchíní saad t'áá ałch'ihjí bił bééhózingo éí doo bá nanitł'ahgóó sáanii yá ata' hodoolnih.

** *You see, if the children understand both languages it will not be difficult for them to interpret for their elders.*

-----Jó díí t'áá bilagáanaa bizaad t'éiyá bee nanitingo éí díí nihizaad yę́ę́ baadáá'didooldah áádóó díí t'áá kojí iiná yiilt'ihyę́ę́ ałdó' ádin doo.

** *You see, if the English language is the only language used for instruction, then our language would soon be lost and our traditional way of life too would also be lost.*

-----Díí na'nitinígíí éí diné t'áá ałtso bá át'é.
** *This instruction (i.e. in two languages) is for all Navajos as well.*

Ability to interpret between languages or between two cultures not only provides emotional and familial security; it makes good economic sense. First, most Navajos engage in wage work as well as a number of pastoral subsistence pursuits, and skills in the latter, such as in traditional arts and crafts, can be a useful cushion against labor market insecurity. The following quote thus illustrates a basic reason why parents appove of teaching such pursuits in school.

-----Áádóó kwe'é ałchíní da'ólta'ígíí éí díí t'áá dinéjí be'é'él'ı' ałdó' yídahool'aah, ła' atł'óda yídahooł'aah.
** *And then, the children going to school here are learning Navajo arts and crafts, some are learning to weave.*

-----Díí sha'ałchíní éí yéé hósindoo nisin, jó áko éí náásdi yee ák'inididáadoo áádóó díí na'anishígíí bá ádin ndi yechósingo doo tsétł'a hazt'i'da.
** *I like for my children to master Navajo arts and crafts; in the future: when there is no wage work, it will help them continue their livelihood without interruption.*

-----~~bíí shimá ákót'é, azhą~~ doo ííłta' dóó doo naalnishda ndi díí atł'óhígíí bił bééhózingo t'áá bibéesoo hóló́ní hóló́.
** *My mother is like that: even though she neither went to school nor obtained wage work, she knows how to weave, and by means of it, is never out of money.*

-----Jó díí k'adgo díí diné be'é'él'ı' doo bééhojísingóó éí t'áá tsésti'azh doogááłgo át'é, t'áá kojí diné bikéyahjí jináago.
** *You see, at this present time, when a man or woman does not know any craft he or she is easily prone to hardship, especially if they live on the Reservation (i.e. are subject to Reservation economic conditions).*

Second, however, there is hope that pastoralism can be modernized or improved so as to maintain its viability. Such skills include not only skills with livestock, but also auto mechanics, welding and carpentry.

-----Jó díí shí atah níláhjí hooghan niit ánígíí, bee lą́ asélíį', jó éí biyi' éí álchíní t'áá ałk'idą́ą́' ch'iiyanée yídahooł'aah.

** *The children are learning how to cook traditional food, in that hogan that was built with our approval.*

-----Áko díigi át'éego ałchíní ch'iiyáán ál'į t'áá ałch'ihjí yíhoo'ą́ą'go náásdi bá da'adą́ągo da yee béeso íidoolíił.

** *Thus, if the children learn how to cook food in both cultures in this manner, they could become a cook for wages later on in life.*

-----Áádóó díí 4-H land náhodi't'aah yéedą́ą' ałdó' atah bee lą́ asélíį', jó éí'éí díí niha'ałchíní naaldloosh naaghá́agi hazhó'ó yaa ákodínóozįįł biniyé.

** *And then, when the land for the 4-H Club was set aside, I too was among those who approved it. You see, that was for our children, so that they might understand better the work with livestock.*

-----Jó díí ałchíní 4-H báhólǫ́ǫgo èi dibé át'éí ígíí hazhó'ó yíhwiidooł'áał dóó náásdi yee ninaá'nitin doo, éí doodago be'iina'da íidoolíił biniyé.

** *You see, when there is a 4-H Club for the children, they will learn how to grade sheep, and later will teach others about it; or else they themselves might take up a way of life with livestock.*

-----Jó díí k'ad lá'áda diné t'ahdii dibé t'éiyá yee hiná, áko kodóó ałchíní díigi át'éego na'nitingo náásdi Naabeehó yá'át'éehgo yee náás dookah.

** *You see, many Navajo are still presently living by means of sheep alone; thus if these children are educated this way, the Navajo people in general will later benefit from this and progress.*

Among other things, then, pastoralism involves a life

independent from welfare and within the capacity of the Navajo family to plan. This has been a concern of Navajos throughout the Reservation (Lamphere, 1980).

While Navajo writing ability was also valued as a skill, it is not clear, from all with whom we interviewed, as to exactly how literacy is important. One parent suggests that literacy helps facilitate the childrens' understanding of complex materials and is therefore indicative of ability to master difficult subjects.

-----Díí kwe'é ałchíní t'áá bizaad yee ak'e'anichí dóó ólta'go yíhool'aahígíí éí nizhóní.
** *Her, at this school, it is good that the children are learning to write and read in their own language.*

-----Díí kwe'é amá dóó azhé'é daniidlínígíí kót'éego niha'-ałchíní t'áá dinék'ehjí da'ólta'go, nihí dó' bídahwii-dii l'áál nít'éé' lá daniizin łeh.
** *We, the mothers and fathers here at the school, see our children read in the Navajo language and wish that we too could have learned.*

-----Díí niha'ałchíní t'áá ádaałts'ísídáá' dinék'ehjí doo bił nidanitł'aqóó nideiizoh dóó dayólta'.
** *Our children, while they are still small, learn to write and read the Navajo language without difficulty.*

-----Áko k'ad ła' shideezhí nílahjí ółta'go dinék'ehjí ayóogo ółta' yééhózin binahjį' łą'ágóó diné át'éegi bił bééhózin, áko shí éí doo shił bééhózinda.
** *Thus, one of my sisters now goes to school here, and reads Navajo very well; as a result she knows many things pertaining to Navajo which I myself do not know.*

Another, a Navajo teacher, compares her own experiences with the children and points out that literacy helps children understand complex Navajo concepts and therefore English ones.

-----Áádóó díí t'áá dinék'ehjí na'adzoh índa bíhoosh'aah, áko álchíní shá da'ółta'ígíí éí ayóogo dinék'ehjí ak'eda'-ałchí.

** *And I am now trying to learn Navajo writing; the children in my class know how to write very well.*

-----Áádóó díí nakiigii dayółta'go ayóogo t'áá dinék'ehgo t'áá-doole'é yaadahane' łeh. áádóó t'áá éí binahjį' bilagáanaa-k'ehgo ninááshnitin łeh.

** *And then the second graders know how to talk about various things in Navajo very well, and it becomes an aid, as a rule, in teaching English.*

4.3.6. C4C: T'AA DINEJI DOO BILAGAANAA BINAANISH BIDZIILGO BIL BEEHOZIN (NAVAJO + ANGLO + ENDEAVORS + WITH ENDURING STRENGTH + WITH IT + THEY UNDERSTAND = THEY MASTER BOTH NAVAJO AND ANGLO ENDEAVORS WELL)

The final important element in the ability to live viably in both cultures (t'aa alch'ihji bidziilgo iina iil'i) and thus in the development of an autonomous individual (doo tsestl'aaghaahda) is the culmination of the Navajo education process. As discussed in the previous sections, it is the integrated development of basic values orientations, self-image, social interaction, competence, skills in thought and planning, and development of bicultural competence by assimilation into the Navajo ways.

4.4. THE CONFIRMATION OF THE SOUNDNESS OF TEACHINGS

The soundness of these teachings are confirmed not only through the success of one's life, but also through the recapitulation of one's life in future generations.

-----"Ádóó t'áá díí bik'ehgo éí díí na'ałchíní bee bich'į' yánílti'doo, áádóó yiyíists'ą́ą'go néiidiiláago náásdi t'áá ákót'éego bił náahoolzhishdoo", shi'doo'niid.

** *I was instructed (to the following effect) "and then just (as you have been taught) you will teach your children, and as they hear and receive (these teachings) they will carry on their livelihood accordingly".*

-----Áko kodóó nát'ą́ą'go názhnél'įįgo níléí hastóí hadahaasdzí'-yę́ę t'áá ákót'ée łeh.

** *Thus, things are now just as they were when one looks back on what the elderly described.*

-----Áádóó t'óó baanitsídzíkeesgo ha'át'íílá t'áá báhádzoo hastóí nitsídaakees nít'ę́ę́' lá dzinízin łeh.

** *And then one often wonders just how accurate and wise were the thoughts of elderly about the future.*

-----Jó níléídę́ę́' hastóíyę́ę yádaałti'go ádaaníi łeh, "níléí náásdi kót'éedoo, áadi hasíníyáago kót'éedoo", áko t'áá aaníí baajiighááhgo t'áá ákódaane'.

** *You see, the elderly men of the past used to say "in your future things will happen at a certain point in your life", sure enough, at that point in one's life these things do indeed happen.*

-----Áko díí na'nitinígíí éí doo t'óó át'éeda t'áá aaníí át'é.

** *Thus, this teaching is not useless, it is the truth.*

-----Áko díí shí séziídóó éí k'ad kónizahdi hoolzhishdi sha'ałchíní bee nahonishtin.

** *Thus, I myself teach my children now in this way.*

-----Áádóó díí áádę́ę́' na'nitinígíí bik'ehgo nihinaanish áłeiilyaa, áko t'óó baanitsáhákeesgo t'áá aaníí nahalin.

** *We made our livelihood according to these teachings, thus when one thinks about them they are indeed true.*

4.5. WHAT IS A TRADITIONAL NAVAJO?

Throughout the Reservation and in recent literature the question arises as to just what constitutes a "traditional" Navajo. The question has perplexed a number of writers and

others on the Reservation because of the large number of Navajo people who consider themselves traditional--despite the distinct posibility that they have converted to Christianity, are bilingual, live in modern housing, and maintain a wage-paying job as their primary source of income. The information in subsection 4.1. - 4.4. above suggests that "traditional" means

A. Having grown up (or still in the process of growing up) raising livestock--and particularly sheep--for significant portion of one's living.

B. Being able to speak Navajo fluently--most likely as a first language--not only among close friends and, relatives, but in public gatherings as well. .

C. Practing K'e, through being willing and able to etend the generosity, warmth, respect and support required in reciprocal relationships within one's family and clan, as well as being confident of expecting help in return.

D. Being willing to take part in everyday Navajo life and material culture.

All these and much more are subsumed in the Navajo concept of K'e. It is therefore possible that Navajos who consider themselves in allegiance with the practice of the Traditional religion but have grown up in an urban setting all of their lives may not be considered as "traditional" as are Christians or Native American Church practitioners who have grown up on their ancestral lands. This position has been expressed especially in areas which have faced (or are about to face) massive economic development. Thus, while we did not e actually see this expression in Rock Point, because of the short time in which the research was done, the possibility of its occurrence warrants further investigation.

In turn, the practice of comparing who is more traditional has been reported as a sensitive issue in younger bilingual Navajos, in contrast to older monolingual Navajos, who are seen by their descendants as more secure in their traditional identity. There thus appears to be a core of traditionalism, and this core appears centered around the concepts of K'e. Thus, Navajos presently living in modern housing, owning little or no livestock, possibly practicing Christianity, and sending their children to school, still aspire to the label "traditional" at the same time that they themselves are acutely aware of differences between themselves and their elders.

SECTION 5

THE INSTITUTIONAL ROLE IN DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

This formulation of educational philosophy by Navajo staff and parents should not be construed to mean that Navajos all had a carefully-articulated educational philosophy to which the school needed only to respond. Instead, the program of Rock Point School and parental expectations of the program evolved together through the years.

The Rock Point School Board decided to become a Contract School so that children could be taught closer to their homes, the children would not be alienated from parents by being sent to far-off dormitory schools, and local people could participate in the program in new and different ways. Through the years a number of questions pertaining to political and educational policy had to be resolved carefully by the School Board. The administration thus found itself in the role of mediator on a number of occasions, and adapted to the role through the re-adaptation of a number of traditional Navajo political and social relationships.

To understand how this system may have evolved, we will,

A. provide an overview of the Rock Point program as described by Holm et al, 1981 and as in Roessel (1979); then

B. describe some of the features of the program considered outstanding by staff and parents, and

C. describing the overall impacts of these features from the view of the parents.

5.1. OVERVIEW OF THE ROCK POINT PROGRAMS

In presenting their program, the Rock Point School system provides the visitor with a description of bilingual education in general, the kinds of staff, the overall organizations of the elementary, primary and secondary classes, and a number of specialty classes which have been instituted. We will quote from these verbatim.

5.1.1. BILINGUAL EDUCATION

> Different bilingual programs may have one or more components: **bilingual** education (teaching "out loud" in Navajo and English), **biliteral** education (teaching reading and writing in Navajo and English), **bicultural** education (teaching Navajo and Anglo culture), and **bicognitive** education (teaching thinking in Navajo and English). Rock Point tries to do all four, with perhaps heavier emphases on the biliteracy and bi-cognitive components than is common elsewhere.
>
> The Rock Point program is a **co-ordinate** bilingual program: and effort is made to keep the use of Navajo and English separate (but parallel or complementary).
>
> The Rock Point program is a **maintenance** program: Navajo Literacy (reading and writing) and Navajo culture are taught in **all** grades (Kdg. - 12).

See 5.2.3. for more description on interview and observations about the Bilingual Education operation.

5.1.2. STAFF

> Rock Point has NLT's (Navajo Language Teachers who teach in Navajo), ELT's (English Language Teachers who teach in English), and PRT's (programmed Reading Tutors who tutor students individually in English reading.) There are no "aides".
>
> Some of the teachers do not have degrees. All who do not are working toward degrees. College courses are taught at Rock Point by NAU [Northern Arizona University], NCC [Navajo Community College], and by local instructors: many

teachers and tutors go to NAU in the summer. So far 31 teachers have obtained degrees while employed here; 35 people have done their student teaching here.

5.1.3. KINDERGARTEN

There are two kindergarten groups: one in the morning and one in the afternoon. Both are here for lunch at noon.

There are two NLT's and one ELT in kindergarten; they work as a team. One NLT concentrates on Navajo reading-readiness, SRA [?] and (Navajo) social studies. The other NLT concentrates on Math and Science in Navajo. Both NLTs use NAMDC [Native American Materials Development Center, in Albuquerque, see 2.4.ff] Navajo curriculum as supplementary materials. ELTs concentrate on ESL [English as a Second Language] and Arithmetic-in-English. (The NLT teachers teach arithmetic concepts; the ELT teaches the related language of arithmetic in English). The children have art, and music and story telling in both languages.

5.1.4. PRIMARY

In the six 1st and 2nd grade classrooms, there are two teachers: an NLT and an ELT. They are a team; there are no "aides" and no "boss teachers". They let each other know what they're doing, but each plans and teaches separately. One teaches in Navajo at one end of the room, the other teaches in English at the other end of the room. The students go to one or the other or work on independent work in the middle.

The NLT teaches Navajo Literacy, arithmetic in Navajo, Navajo Social Studies, Science in Navajo, and the SRA "thinking" materials. The ELT teaches ESL and arithmetic in English.

Only when students are felt to be reading well in Navajo are they introduced to reading-in-English. This is usually at second grade. From then on they read in **both** languages. (I.e., at Rock Point reading-in-Navajo is **not** just used to teach reading-in-English.) The children have some art and music in both languages.

5.1.5. ELEMENTARY

In the seven 3rd - 6th grade classroom, there is one teacher, an ELT. The classroom teacher teaches ESL, reading-in-English that emphasizes comprehension, and arithmetic. The students go out in half-class groups to specialty classes....The classroom teacher works with the half-class groups that remain. The whole class is in the room for only parts of the day.

5.1.6. SPECIALTY CLASSES

For the elementary school level there are six specialty classes. The first is elementary reading, and the others are discussed as they follow.

Elementary reading. All students grades 2 - 6 go to the library every day for programmed reading. There they work with English reading materials that emphasize word attack skills and simple comprehension. Students read aloud to a tutor for ten minutes, read to themselves for ten minutes, do independent work for ten minutes, and have ten minutes for other activities in the library.

Navajo literacy. All students grades 3 - 6 go to Navajo Literacy every day. Emphasis is on more advanced reading and on language experience activities in Navajo.

Navajo Social Studies. Students in grades 3 - 6 go to Navajo Social Studies every school-day for half a year and to Science-in-Navajo the other half of the year. [These classes are taught in two separate classrooms].

The units taught come from local curriculum still being developed.

Science-in-Navajo. Students in grades 3 - 6 go to Science in Navajo every school-day for half a year. This involves teaching steps toward scientific thinking by a "process-approach"; students are expected to do things and they try to talk through (**in Navajo**) what they think they have seen or done.

The kindergarten and the primary level students receive science instruction in Navajo by the NLT's.

Navajo-as-a-Second-Language. A small number of students (Anglos and Navajos for whom Navajo is not their stronger language) attend small-group classes [in] NSL. [This too is taught in a separate classroom].

Individualized Instruction. This is mainly for extra help for students that are **new**, or low in one or two academic subject area[s], or who have not passed a given criterion-referenced test their classmates have. The child leaves the classroom to go work with the Itinerant Teacher [teacher who goes from class to class to provide individualized attention] for 20 to 30 minutes a day, until the child is caught...up....We have found this to work better than isolating students that are slow in one room and labelling them. There is one Itinerant for English Language instruction

from Kdg. to 6th. There is also one Itinerant for Navajo Language instruction Kdg. to 6th.

Clanship instruction [See 5.2.1. below]. Seven parents work as Clanship Instructors in the classroom ...at the beginning of the school year for four weeks. After New Year they will come in again for four weeks of review. The purpose of the CI parents is to work with ELT and PRT tutor on classroom language, behavior, and to teach kinship to students in upper literacy classroom.

5.1.7. SECONDARY PROGRAM

The Secondary program has been expanding at the rate of one grade per year since 1976. This year, we have approximately 131 students in grades 7 - 12. This spring Rock Point will be having their first 12th grade graduation.

Since 1976, we have gradually converted the old dormitory into classroom spaces, a science lab, an art lab a solar greenhouse, Home Ec., and a solar auto mechanics building. Much of this work has been done with the help of students and staff.

Our curriculum includes some of the basic five, such as English, Math, Social Studies and Science, but one goal at each level is to teach skills which our students will be able to use. Mastery of objectives is stressed. We also include in our curriculum Science-in-Navajo for 7th and 8th, Language arts for 9th to 12th in Navajo, typing, art, auto mechanics, woodworking, welding and home economics. There are also several elective courses offered on a rotation basis. These include photography, annual, silk screening, pottery, greenhouse, weightlifting, advanced sewing, choir, electronics, newspaper, advanced math, knitting and several others.

In addition, throughout the year special activities take place which enhance our curriculum as well as develop understanding and a good working relationship between teachers and students. These include camping trips, swimming lesons at Navajo, New Mexico, skiing trips to Durango, Colorado, visits to off-Reservation towns by each grade in order to practice language and math skills as well as to explore post secondary educational opportunities, dances and a host of other activities.

5.2. OVERVIEW OF THE PROGRAMS

In this section we highlight some of the features described in 5.1.ff which parents and staff came to consider important as

they observed the progress of the school. In a way, we can see them also as the major impacts which the school has had on the community's thinking.

To these people the following program innovations and impacts were considered the most significant:

A. the teaching of Navajo clan organization, or clanship, in the classroom;

B. the less formal teachings which were derived from the clanship teaching;

C. the delivery of a Navajo-language and bilingual instruction;

D. the encouragement of parental participation through conferences which also include the students as well as teacher and parent.

5.2.1. NAVAJO CLANSHIP

The significant part of the Navajo curriculum at Rock Point revolves around the concept of K'e, and strong emphasis is focused on children learning their clan relationships. Instruction begins in Kindergarten with five year olds and continues throughout the primary and elementary grades. In the Kindergarten classroom children are told that they each belong to their mother's clan (i.e. born from) and are born for their father's (refer back to 4.3.1. for example). Kindergarten children are also told the names of the chapter officers, their clan membership and how they are related to members of the Kindergarten class.

In examples observed in the classroom, children would be informed about their relationships with certain individuals in

the community. For example, in one instance, a child was told "nizhe'e yazhi iit'eela (he is your father)," or "nihei dats'ii at'e (He is your grandfather on your mother's side)."

In addition to teaching of formal relationships, children were also instructed in the more interpersonal aspects of relationships. Examples included priviledges, formal and informal posturing and joking relationships. Also observed were instructions in informal Navajo behavior. In one case, in which a student was staring at the observer, the teacher said "Kooji dats'ido'o'iila' ayoo dazhneeliida (look back over here; when one has a visitor one does not stare at them)".

This form of instruction continues throughout the elementary grades.

One younger Navajo (i.e. in late 20's) teacher reported that the normal rate of mastery of the clanship and its system of introduction has been accelerated by the School's approach to teaching it.

> I think that what is really interesting to me was the clanship...that it worked out. I was a little surprised how the children at that age, children of seven or eight, nine, ten...they learn the four clans and the groups of the clans, which is a little--I would say--too much for me when I was that age to learn, and they would learn all that in six weeks.
>
> He [speaker's son] knows which group he belongs to...what his mother clan is, what his father clan group is...and he can [introduce not only himself]... but somebody else. And then he can figure out what four clan group that person is, and he can figure out how they are related to him this way...either my grandfather or my mother, my aunt--whatever--my sister, my brother--he can do that. I myself had about ten years learning that.

From the teacher's viewpoint, this approach appears to differ from that used in the normal family settings because of the additional introduction of Navajo literacy and the use of classroom aids such as what one or two teachers referred to as flash cards.

> They recite things and they have flash card--you know--like the flash cards that have letters on them. They can recognize and just do it orally, and then when they get to the third grade, they start writing, putting them together, and making words out of the sounds and letters that they have learned in the first and second grade.

5.2.2. THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM ENSUING FROM THE CLANSHIP

5.2.2.1. EXTENSION OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD

The teachers provided further detail on the instruction in interpersonal relationships which was observed in the classroom. They pointed out that in addition to instructing simply on proper social relationships, they could also compare these social relationships to what the student would experience in the non-Navajo world. In the following example, a clanship instructor describes how she orients her students to the pitfalls which a Navajo may encounter off-Reservation.

-----Áko doo bíjíighahgóó éí hamáji' t'éiyá anáhwiit'ééh, áádęę'da béeso jiniihgo kodóó béesoo hach'į' ál'įįhgo áádęę' nijídááh.

** *Thus, if one cannot make it among the white people, one has a mother to ask for help so he can return to the Reservation.*

-----Áko doo bíjíighahgóó éí ákót'ı̨ı̨h, t'áá'aaníí ádílą́ą́jı̨' nıtsídzíkeés jileehgo éí béesoo t'áá bítséedi hasht'e' nizhdit'ááhgo áadi chojooł'ı̨ı̨h.

** *Thus, if a person is unable to make a living among the Whites, this is what happens; if a person thinks ahead for himself he will save some money for the difficult time later in life there (in the White man's world).*

-----Áko t'áadoo hooyání doo nanilnishdadoo ho'di'niih, áko áádóó éí háadi nááhwiidoolkáál dóó ha'at'íí éí bik'é anáázhdoołnah, jó ákódaat'éégóó ádílą́ą́jı̨' baanitsídzíkeesgo yá'át'éeh.

** *Thus, sometimes a person can suddenly be laid off from work; thus, after that where can a person stay for the nights and what can he pay for his meals? These are some of the things a person must consider.*

-----Díí doo hoł béehózingóó éí áadi t'áá ádzaajı̨' ch'íjíghááh, áko t'áadoo yá'áshchǫ́ǫda ákójiit'ı̨ı̨hgo.

** *If a person is ignorant of this knowledge, he can end up with nothing; thus it is not good for that person.*

-----Biniinaada t'áá ádzaagóó nikizhdiighάáh dóó hónáásdóó t'áadoole'éda jini'ı̨ı̨hgo baa nízhdiidááh áádi awáalyahda bą́ąhyílı̨.

** *As a result of the lack of knowledge, a person can end up wandering here and there, stealing can become a habit and as a result he will end up in jail.*

-----Áádóó hónáásdóó t'óóda biniinaa azhniidlı̨ı̨h, áko áadi t'óó ła'ałyóiijı̨' ínízhdiilwo'go t'áá adzaagóó nikizhdiighάáh.

** *And sometimes, as a result, one can later start drinking heavily; thus as a result, he might group himself with different people and end up wandering.*

-----Áko díigi ádaat'éégóó ndi baa'ákojinízingo éí há yá'át'éeh doo, bidish-níigo bił hashne'.

** *Thus, these are some of the important kinds of knowledge a person must gain for his benefit in life, I would tell them.*

Essentially, she explains that

A. Warm, familial reciprocity is difficult to maintain off-Reservation

B. Seemingly selfish personal budget management is therefore necessary for survival.

C. If such planning is not followed, one's life will dissolve into a series of unstable, transient frienships accompanied by bouts of drinking.

We must remember that the explanations are advice about the outside world, not the values themselves. Such advice,

incidentally, is similar to that given by parents.

The values and orientations, which follow from knowledge of clans, are legitimized as important things to know in school. The student, is, in effect, told that **while the school system must prepare the student for modern life, teachings of parents are to be taken seriously because they constitute viable knowledge.**

5.2.2.2. IMPLEMENTATION OF CLANSHIP IN CLASSROOM STYLE

It is very difficult to determine how much the teachings of K'e and the philosophy of education in Section 4 were implemented into the instructional style. Had we been able to do so, we would have been able to put together a "how-to-be-a-good-teacher-at-Rock-Point" recipe for teachers in Rock Point School, and such a definitive work is still well beyond our grasp. Nevertheless, classroom observations will serve to illustrate how children acted in the classrooms, and how these could relate to some of the philosophical elements discussed in Section 4.

Doo hadi si'aada (not sensitive to criticism or mistakes) was illustrated in the way that children took their mistakes as a matter of course. They corrected each other's work, either verbally, or by marking papers for each other. Teachers also verbalized recognition of their own mistakes, making remarks such as **Chizh. Ha'at'iila dishni?** (Cripes. What did I say?)?"

While they were seldom reprimanded harshly for making

mistakes, this is not to say that teachers ignored errors. In one classroom the children were all reading their stories orally when the teacher suddenly commented "I heard the work 'choke'; it should be chalk."

Teachers were observed to ask the children if they understand the tasks to be accomplished. If the children indicated that they did not understand, they would ask the teacher questions such as "Da' kot'eego adini (Is what you mean)?" When children indicated that they understood a task, they would make comments such as "Aoo' t'aa biigha (Yes that is indeed possible)."

When illustrating the child's ability to sit still and concentrate on what is being taught, the classroom configuration itself should be described. With the exception of the secondary-level classrooms, small groups of children would sit near the teacher in semicircular fashion at one end of the room--close to a chalkboard--for as long as 20 minutes or more. During this time the teachers appeared to control the pacing of instruction and discussion. The woman teachers would sit near the chalkboard, while the men would stand before it. The teachers would interrupt discussions or other presentations to have small-group interactions with individual students. At the same time there would be whispering among the students.

When asked about whether or not they knew the students were paying attention, teachers maintained that they could tell, by the staring, squirming and laughing, whether or not the students

were talking about the subject matter, or up to some sort of mischief. At the same time, students were free to make suggestions about some of the ways in which classroom instruction was to be conducted. For example, students would suggest to the teacher "...let's stand on the stage because some of us talk soft".

5.2.3. NAVAJO EDUCATION: NON-PARALLEL TEACHING IN TWO LANGUAGES

The Rock Point Board and administration used "Navajo education" to refer to their instructional approach. Parallel subject matter is not taught once in English and again in Navajo. While high transferability between the subjects is the hope of the program personnel, redundancy is not. It is thus a **maintenance** program, i.e. it delivers instruction in two languages through a parallel approach. Rosier and Holm (1980) provide still more detail on what is meant by a maintenance program. They point out that the School Board itself has decided that rather than being an adjunct program to regular instruction, that bilingual education constitutes the entire program (Rosier and Holm, 1979).

> The program could be characterized as a maintenance program with a progressive shift towards English. In the Kindergarten, about 70 percent of the instruction is in Navajo; in the primary classrooms (beginner through grade two), about 50 percent is in Navajo; in the elementary grades (three through six), about 20 percent is in Navajo; about 15 percent in the Junior high, and perhaps 5 - 10 percent of the instruction is in Navajo at the high school level.
>
> The school has attempted to develop an integrated education and student care program with multiple funding sources. The School Board has, in proposals, stated that

their goal is the continued development of quality Navajo education through increased community mamagement and control. Bilingual education is not a component of, or an adjunct to, the education program; bilingual education is the education program. The Board has tended to structure the school toward this end--activities which are not felt to contribute directly to a bilingual curriculum have been modified or eliminated.

Instructional strategies observed in the classroom included small-group instruction, individual seatwork, and half-classroom groups. Grades 3 - 6 go to other rooms to receive special instruction daily in Programmed Reading, Navajo Literacy, Navajo Social Studies, and Science-in-Navajo. Navajo Social studies and Science-in-Navajo are taught one semester each. Health is taught once a week. Initial literacy is achieved in Navajo, with children adding English literacy during the second grade. (See 5.1.6. for more information).

According to a teacher in a class in which English was added to Navajo (i.e. second graders), the children can be expected to know already how to read upon entrance to the classroom, as they have been reading in Navajo for up to two years. In the classroom the teachers were observed to make the achievement levels clear to the students through comments such as "You missed two items and you say you are ready for the test?...Look here; you said two cup of coffees; it's coffee."

For mathematics, the following quote makes it appear that parallelism goes on, and it does, to some extent. Math concepts are taught in Navajo. English is taght in English-as-a-Second-Language form, i.e. is used for teaching certain mathematical manipulations. When those parts taught normally in Navajo have

to be taught in English, the rate of student progress through the curriculum slows down, as a Navajo teacher explains below.

> For mathematics, the procedure is similar, with the parallel lessons taught in both Navajo and English. The other teacher [i.e. English-speaking teacher] teaches in the other side, the English part, and we do work close together with them--especially with the math part....We do the math part the same thing that they do. In the Navajo part we are...about two or three lessons ahead of the English teachers.
>
> [Being ahead of the English-language teachers in math]...is because the student need to truly understand the concepts of addition and subtraction--how it works--before they can be taught the English lesson.

5.1.4. PLANNED CURRICULUM

The program offers fewer choices in the content of this Navajo-English instruction than might be found in other schools, although the nature of this content appears similar to that offered elsewhere.

The Rock Point administration and Board base their decision to take this course on the need to make priorities.

> The Rock Point program puts very heavy emphasis on academic skills: thinking, reading and writing (in both languages), on arithmetic (in both languges); on English-as-a-Second Language; and on some Navajo social studies and Science (in Navajo). Other commen elementary school activities are either shifted to the dormitory, cut back, or cut out.
>
> In effect, Rock Point says "since we can not do all these things in the time we have, we should do those things we think are most important and do them well." Rock Point thinks that success in academic skills is most important. That students who are expected to succeed, and are able to succeed, will succeed. And that students who do succeed most of the time will come to see themselves as capable students. Other schools and other communities may have other priorities. For this same reason all arts and crafts are taught after school hours or for electives in the secondary program.

This seemingly austere description need not be taken out of character with the philosophy of education discussed in section 4, however. This is not simply a "back-to-the-basics' program in Navajo. As one Navajo teacher explains below, there are important differences between this program and other Reservation schools. First, the material is presented **systematically** in Navajo, and second, that **the objectives of these curricula are made explicit and are followed by the teacher.**

> As far as the lesson went, to some extent...the subjects that we teach here, there wasn't a difference, really [i.e. between Rock Point and the other schools]. Only that the teaching was done in Navajo. I used to work at a school where we did all this teaching, and all this subjects too, but we didn't have objectives. We didn't have to worry about objectives. But here at this school, we have to, for each subject that we teach we start--from [grade] one all the way up to four--and when we feel that the students are ready then we call the evaluator--I guess we call it evaluator. He does the testing on the students. [So, for example] the students...have to maybe do a 90% average and if they go below that, then we have to go back and teach the whole thing again.

Students are expected to progress through a sequence of specific objectives. Promotion of students is not automatic. In addition to teaching Navajo, the presence of objectives differentiates this school from the BIA and public schools, according to a number of teachers.

5.3. PARENT-TEACHER-STUDENT CONFERENCES

These conferences are held twice a year. They are occasions at which one or both parents, the student, teachers and interpreter (wherever necessary) are brought together to review the student's progress. In addition, at least some of the staff maintained that a definite function of the conferences

was, in addition to informing the parents of the student's academic and behavioral progress, further implementing the goal of having the student be more articulate and thoughtful of his or her purpose in school. As such, they are seen as complementary to the clanship and bilingual curriculum, as the quote below illustrates.

-----K'ad éí díí ałchínívázhí t'áá háishíį nízinígii hadahadzaih azh'ą t'áadoo bik'ida'diyiinihí ndi.

** *Now, these little children are free to express them (i.e. difficult concepts and terms) whatever they feel--without being prompted to do so.*

-----Jó díí kwe'é diné ba'ałchíní yihoo ł'aahígíí bił íishjání ádaale' biníyé yił ałah nídaadleeh áko ákǫǫ́ ałchíní ákódaat'éego baa'ákonisin.

** *You see, at this school, the parents have conferences with the teachers about their progress in school. Thus, throughout the conferences I observe the children to be able to be free to express themselves.*

-----Jó díí diné ba'ałchíní yaa'ałah nídaadleehgóó éí na'-ałchíní díí yihoo ł'aah dóó kót'éego éí doo yánízinda doo ha'níigo yił dahane'.

** *You see, when the parents and teachers have a conference, they are made aware of what their children are learning, and discussions are conducted on how the children can be more outspoken.*

-----Jó t'ah da'íiníita' yąądą́ą' éí t'áadoole'é bína'ídídiil-kiłyąą, éí doodago hadiidzihyąą, t'óó baa yádaniizin nít'ęę'.

** *You see, when we were going to school, we used to be too shy to ask any sort of questions, or to speak up.*

By intending to provide the students the opportunity to speak for themselves, some teachers have observed that they have had to adapt to the students' presence by structuring their conduct in conference differently from what they may have been accustomed to elsewhere. The first adaptation is to proceed

with a detailed explanation of how the child is evaluated in school, as is illustrated by this Navajo teacher.

> The parents come in for their conferences; they are told how their child is progressing in class and what they have learned so far since the beginning of the school year....They [i.e. the interpreter and/or teacher] review the first conference and they go on to tell them how much progress the child made. Maybe one conference will be in the Fall and then another one in the Spring time.

Then, the parents are given an overall background of their child's progress--the good points as well as the bad.

> We tell them...if they are having behavior problems...we give them a specific behavior. [We tell them] this is what your child has problem in. Then, [we tell them] this is how slow he is going in certain subjects, and this is how fast he is going in certain subject. [We tell the parents that] some of them will be fast in math, and they are way ahead of their group, but real slow in reading--or something like that. And we account [to] them specifically what their child is doing.

For their part, the teachers consider this three-way conference helpful in enlisting the parents' help in settling teacher-student disputes in class and in generally improving the students's deportment. One monolingual English-speaking teacher illustrates how, through an interpreter, the conference is operated so as to maximize the opportunity for student and parental involvement.

> About half the time I need an interpreter....I have enough psychology around, [though]. I know how to handle people enough to know when to say the bad things [i.e.] the things I want help with. I tell them all the good things first [and] I have gotten very good responses from the parents.

The speaker then illustrated with an example of parental involvement in solving a classroom discipline problem.

> I have a little stinker this year. She and I have fought. We fight one week and we get along one week. This is the way it is. So, I tell her mother...how delighted I am we have been getting along for a month now--until last week--so her mother wanted to know what was going on. So, I said she won't work; [that] if she gets angry she won't work--and she can get angry for about everything--and she stiffens up--[that] she can be the toughest little girl you ever saw. And the mother says "Mmmmmm."--she speaks English--She says: I don't know, why don't you try this: if she does not want to do it during the school time, let her stay after school and do it." and she [i.e. the student] is a boarder [i.e. lives at the dormitory, so] I can do that. It workd and she and I are getting along now. Our conference was [a month ago] and we have gotten along beautifully since then. I tell her, as soon as she starts puffing up with something, "you want to work on a puzzle? We can do it after school." She says "Oh no," she is willing to do it now. So, anyhow, the conferences with the students make sense.

In addition to the conferences, the Rock Point School administration follows a policy of leaving the classrooms open to visits by parents. In the halls are benches where the parents can sit. The intent of this policy is clear, as the following speaker describes.

> Since it is a community school, everybody comes to the school and gets together. It's their school, so the community is invited to come to the school any time they want to. You know, my daughter goes to public school in [a Reservation administrative town to the south of Rock Point], and I have never been to the school....I have never been invited to the school. But here, parents come every Wednesday throughout the year; they have parent-teacher conferences, where the parent comes to the school and talks to the teacher, and [visits] both the Navajo language and English language teacher, and even the programmed Reading Department, to see how their children are doing in school, which is good. They know what their kids are doing...where[as] I don't know how my daughter is doing down there [at the other, public, school] and I have never been invited. I don't even know if they have a PTA down there because we are not really involved in the school, to know what our kids are doing down there. But here, they know what their kids are doing.

Parents in other communities have reported feeling

intimidated and discouraged by the frequently long distances both they and their children must travel to reach the school. Once they do manage to obtain transportation for a visit, they report dismay at being greeted with barbed wire-topped chain link fences and signs which say "all visitors must register at the front office" (Platero et al, 1977). We do not know whether or not a failure to be invited may also involve the possibility that the parent may reside outside the school district, or routine difficulties in informing parents, such as students misplacing notices or parents not checking mail boxes. Nevetheless, the parents themselves often perceive an enhanced access.

At Rock Point, while the administration laments somewhat that parents usually only "poke their heads in at the door," and use the hallway benches more often than classroom chairs, the availability of chairs in the classroom, and benches in the hall, set aside expressly for parents to sit on when visiting, is considered by Rock Point Navajos with whom we interviewed to be a distinct improvement over other schools.

5.4. THE LESS VISIBLE SIDE OF COMMUNITY CONTROL: PLANNED CURRICULUM

Rock Point has an active policy in which non-degreed Navajo teachers from the community are encouraged to take a combination of on-site instruction and on-campus courses at Northern Arizona University (NAU). Through this program, sponsored by the Navajo Tribe, local Navajos may obtain certification (see 5.1.2.). Many are doing so, and an increasing number of Navajo teachers

are from the community. This policy has been one of the markers of an exemplary program (see Section 2.4.ff).

While the value of having Navajo-speaking teachers for effecting student comprehension and community involvement are obvious, another function is to reduce the adverse effects of rapid staff turnover. Staff turnover has plagued schools throughout the Reservation for years, and has affected adversely the continuity of curriculum from grade to grade, the accountability and morale of teachers, and the capability of institutions to grow and develop. The training of Navajo teachers, while no doubt the best long-term solution, is not effective in the short run because there are still too few of them. As a result, Rock Point has stumbled upon an interim solution: **a curriculum which is planned so strictly that teachers may be replaced at any time, with only minimal effect on the operation of the classroom.**

This planned curriculum was not intended to make the teachers dispensible, replaceable, or anonymous, but it has come to function at least to make the sudden departure of short term teachers less chaotic.

It is thus one form of adaptation, through a rigidly-planned curriculum program, to the problems of staff turnover and the demoralizing chaos which often ensues. It also functions, of course, to make programs easily evaluable.

In the planned curriculum around which the objectives are

centered, all teachers are required to meet similar, or comparaable objectives. This serves to combat a fall in teacher morale by allowing teachers to appreciate the fruits of their labor., One teacher illustrates by an example of comparison with a public school north of Rock Point.

> [The new teachers] took a job--but then who wants to live in [name of the Navajo community]? They keep this [job in this Navajo community] for two years and maybe there may be an opening [elsewhere in the state, further away from the Reservation] and they can get there. There was no organized program. There was no structure. I would work so hard for a year, and see the children go to the next room and cut out paper dolls--we would say--for a year. And it got to where I couldn't take it any more. I mean, why kill yourelf when it is not going to do any good at all? What attracted me here was the structure in the program. I knew that I could do a good job. I think I am a good teacher, and I know that if somebody else next year is going to take off from where I left off--that's why I [am more satisfied here at Rock Point].

While this structure helped combat teacher turnover, in some cases, it met with objections from both Navajo and Anglo staff for being too restrictive. Some maintained that it failed to offer teachers the opportunity to make innovations in their classes, and to offer students avenues for creative activity in drama, poetry, art and music.

> The curriculum here is esentially...just a series of text books, so the curriculum is dominated by the materials, and...their goal is to make them teacher-proof, in a sense....You [i.e. the new teacher] come in and the materials are already preselected for you. There is no choice of three reading series that you can use; there is just one. And you go to the store room and there...are other materials that you can use to supplement--but the text that you use is already predetermined for all of the inservice. Then, there are preselected materials related to teaching reading...via those texts that have been determined for your grade level.

So, you merely are brought into line with that. Sometimes [this] is really boring.

The math is the same thing; it's a series that you use--it's two different math series, but one butts against the other, so they are not taught parallel to each other. One series is finished; then you start the next one. And the ESL is the same, at least in the elementary school. [At] the high school it isn't true. They are still searching for a direction in there, in the ESL curriculum.

The structuring which the speaker points out for the elmentary school does indeed seem not to function the same way at the junior high and high schools because the latter are still developing. That is, they are still adding on grades, recruiting new staff, and developing curricula.

5.5. OVERALL IMPACTS OF THE ROCK POINT SCHOOL

The progress of the Rock Point School Program must be seen against the backdrop of the widely-acknowledgd deplorable condition of Navajo education in general, and bilingual education in particular. Thus, many parents know little or no English because they themselves may have had no education beyond the third grade level. So, they may know little of what goes on in the classroom. Nevertheless, they do see striking differences between the schooling they received as children and that of their own children, at Rock Point.

Íídą́ą́' da'ólta'yę́ę́ éí k'ad: *(Those who went to school then are now:)*

-----T'óó yádanízin nahalin.
** *Just bashful they seem.*

-----Doo t'áá bí ádá yádaałti'da.
** *They could not for themselves speak up.*

Íídą́ą́' ółta'yę́ę́ éí: *(The school of the past was:)*

-----Bilagáanaak'ehgo t'éiyá yáti' nít'ę́ę́'.
** *In the English language only, teaching was done.*

-----Ch'ééh bik'izhdiitį́įh łeh.
** *In vain would one try to understand, usually.*

-----Ch'ééh hoł hane' łeh.
** *In vain was one taught as a rule.*

-----Hoł nanitł'a łeh.
** *It was difficult for one.*

-----T'áadoo yáníłti'í ho'di'nii łeh.
** *Do not speak, one was told as a rule.*

-----Saad bee ha'doodzihígíí ádin łeh.
** *Words by which to speak in sentences were nonexistent, as a rule.*

-----Saad choiidoo'į́į́lígíí ádin łeh.
** *Words used to speak were nonexistent, as a rule.*

-----Ha'doodzihgi baa yázhnízin łeh.
** *To speak up, one was bashful to do so, as a rule.*

-----T'óó jisti' jileeh.
** *One would hecitate to speak.*

-----T'áadoole'é doo bína'ízhdíłkida łeh
** *One could not ask questions about anything, as a rule.*

Children going to school now appear to be more capable academically, better-behaved, and more socially astute.

K'ad da'ółta'ígíí éí: *(Nowadays, at this school (the children):*

-----T'áá ałch'ihjí saad yinahjį' ídahoot'aah.
** *In both language usages they are learning*

-----T'áá ałch'ihjí saad doo bá nidanitł'ada.
** *In both language they are fluent.*

-----T'áá ałch'ihjí saad yee yádaałti'.
** *In both languages they speak.*

-----Ayóogo hach'ą' yádaałti'.
** *Very oratorically they speak.*

-----Jiłą'ígi ndi yádaałti'.
** *Crowds do not hinder them from speaking.*

-----Ayóogo k'é daaní.
** *Very well by means of k'é they express themselves.*

-----T'áadoole'é doo yich'ą' ni' danilįįda.
** *Any undertaking they have no fear of.*

-----Doo adaadeiinít'įįda.
** *They do not hesitate to speak.*

-----Saad nanitł'aii ndi yee yádaałti'.
** *Difficult words are used in their speaking (in both languages).*

-----T'áadoo hodíina'í ídahooł'aah.
** *Very rapidly they learn.*

-----K'é naazt'i'gi ayóogo bił bééd hózin.
** *K'é in its structural complexity is known (by them).*

-----T'áá bí bizaad yee ak'ida'ałch'í.
** *In their own language they write.*

-----T'áá bí bizaad dayółta'.
** *In their own language they read.*

-----Doo haada yit'éeda.
** *In no way are they handicapped.*

Better behavior on the part of the student can now be reinforced in school the same as it can be reinforced at home, through an appeal to the student's obligation toward kith and kin connoted by the relationships themselves.

By such reinforcement the Navajo teacher can better understand when children are or are not comprehending something, as opposed to merely not paying attention (or possibly even feigning attention while not understanding).

Parents maintain that these innovations function to

maintain better integration between family and school, as they see their own teachings as more relevant to what is taught in school, and as preparing children for a better life. At the same time, formal teachings of these Navajo ideas in a formal classroom setting and with the aid of literacy are seen as still further reinforcement of this integration.

However, as the existence of smarter and better-behaved children has far-reaching social effects, so we may expect the school to have similar effects in the community. Indirect evidence thus emerges for community unity far beyond that of traditional kin lines. One clanship instructor points out how she implemented her instructions by the School Board, to consider all children as if they were her own.

----Jó ałchíní t'óó atah yighahágo éí t'óó honáldzid łeh; áko ndí t'áá sáhá bił jinikeehgo éí bich'ı' yájíłti'dóó bízhdílnihgo, bizéédjinii'goda áádóó t'áá ha'ałchíní nahalingo baa nitsidzíkeesgo t'áadoo bahat'aadí łahgo át'ıįh.

** *You see, when a child is new in school, he or she will be afraid of you; Thus one should take him or her aside, to speak and touch him or her, put your arm around them, and treat him or her as one of your own children; and then the child will fell at ease in no time.*

-----"Łádóó díí t áá kwe'é ni'niihai áko nighan nahalingo baa nitsíníkees doo áádóó kǫǫ nideiilnishígíí éí amá nahalingo nihaanitsíníkees doo", bijiníi łeh.

** *"And this will be your home for the school year, so think of it as your home, and then think of us who work at this dorm as your mother", I would tell them.*

-----"Łádóó t'áadoo nánildzidí, kǫǫ ałchíní bił nidaniné, dóó díí daané'é éí bee nidaahnéego nihá ahóót'i'", bijiníi łeh.

** *"And then, do not be afraid; play with the other children; there are toys and games for you to play", I would tell them.*

-----Łádóó díigi át'éego ałchíní bich'ı' yájíłti'go ółta'gi ndi ayóogo yíneedlíį łeh.

** *And then, if one speaks and instructs the children in this fashion, he or she will be enthusiastic about schooling.*

The clanship instructor describes the instruction she gives as of an individualized nature, in which the child is first made to feel that the counselor is approachable as a parent.

-----Ałchíní da'ółta'ígíí ła' t'áá áyisíí ałchíní yázhí danilį́įgo nehekááh, ła' at'éédyázhí nilį́įgo atah níyá.

** *The children going to school here arrive as very young children; there was one such child, a little girl.*

-----T'óó átsé éí haasíid níléí áát'įįłdi, dóó át'égi, áádóó ałchíní ahínéésh'ishgo bich'į' yánáshtih.

** *First I would begin to observe the things she does and the way she is reacting to things; I would (then) gather the children to talk to them.*

-----Díí ałchíní t'áá sahdii áts'ádzilóosii', t'áásáhá bich'į' yájíłti'go éí yá'át'ééh.

** *One should sometimes take a child aside to talk to him alone; this is a very successful way to deal with children.*

-----"Jǫ́ díí kwe'é t'óó jigháhágo éí kót'ée łeh, díí at'éékéda nída'ats'ih doo, áko nidi t'áá akǫ́ǫ́ baa hóne'" bijiníi łeh.

** *"You see, when you come as a new student to school, some other girls will tease you a lot, but always report them to me".*

-----"T'áá ha'át'éégida nich'į' ánáhóót'i'go ni'diił'áagoda bee shił hólne' dooleeł", bijiníi łeh.

** *"If there are any problems, or if something is bothering you, you come and tell me", I would tell them.*

From such individualized attention, correction of improper behavior should always be acompanied by positive example, so that corrections are a form of instruction, not simply punishment.

-----Jó díí ałchíní t'áá áánílígíí, díí ła'da béesoo ninádayiijááhgo, áádóó éé'da ła' ninádayiijááhgo, aheedeenit'įįhgo áádóó na'nitin háát'i'.

** *You see, instruction begins wherever these children do something; for example, one will bring back money or clothing and another would steal them from him.*

-----"Jó doo hwíi'ii doo nijiiláahda, háálá t'áá ákójít'įįgo hónáásdóó t'áá nitsaaida jini'įįhgo baa nízhdiidááh", bidishníigo bich'į' yáshti' łeh.

** *"You see, you cannot take something that is not yours if you continue to do so it will become your habit and later you will begin to take bigger and more valuable things", I would tell them.*

-----"Áádóó t'áá nitsaaida jini'ı̨ih jileehgo biniinaada diné at'íjił'ı̨ jileeh, áko biniinaa doots'íid át'éégóó ahóót'i'", bidishní.

** *And then, when you begin to take bigger and more valuable things, you will begin to hurt people for them, and it can place you in an even worse situation.*

-----Áádóó t'áá bída ła' atí'ahil'ı̨ı̨go, diné doo ła' atíjił'ı̨ı̨da háálá doo ákót'éego ninihi'deelwáada níléídęę'.

** *And then when the children begin to hurt and fight one another, you teach them, "you should not hurt one another, for this was not the purpose of our existence from the beginning".*

-----"T'áadoo diné hak'ehdii naagháii dóó t'áadoo biniinaanígóó doo atíjíléehda, áádóó díí náás jidigháahgo díí na'nitiniígíí t'áá bééjílniih łeh", bijiníi łeh.

** *"You cannot hurt others who are living their own lives and are not hurting others for no reason, and as you go on in life always remember this", one should teach the children.*

-----Díí náásdi yá'át'éehgo jiináádoogo éí ts'ídá t'ááho ájít'éego éí ha'át'íí shı̨ı̨ nídıdeeshłéél dóó ha'át'íí shı̨ı̨ ádeeshłííł jinízinígíí óolyé.

** *Indeed, if a person commits himself seriously to life, he will commit himself to gain, and in following that course of life.*

Finally, by being able to speak and write Navajo in school, children can avoid embarrassing and demoralizing moments of ignorance, particularly within their own families and households.

-----Díí shí íiłta' yęędą́ą́' éí t'áá bilagáanaak'ehgo t'éiyá íhoo ł'ą́ą'go biniinaa t'áá dinék'ehjí t'áadoole'é baanahodoonih doo hazhó'ó shił bééhózinda.

** *Thus, when I went to school, I was only taught by means of English language; as a result, I do not know very well things which are discussed in the Navajo language.*

-----Áádóó díí shí hastóí dóó sáanii bich'į' ha'doodziłhígíí doo hazhó'ó shił bééhózinda.

** *And as for me, I don't know very well words which are to be spoken to older men and women.*

-----Áko díí shígi át'éego bilagáanaak'ehgo t'éiyá íhojiił'ą́ągo áádę́ę́' kojį' diné bitah nídzídzáago bił dazhdeeshnishgo doo yá'áshǫǫda.

** *Thus, as with myself, when only the English language is taught, (life) becomes very difficult later on, back here, should one wish to return to Navajo land.*

-----Áko k'ad shicheii t'áadoole'é bee bił hodeeshnih yę́ę́, átsé shimá bił hashnihgo índa áájí shá yił náhálnih áko doo shił yá'áshǫǫda.

** *Thus, now when I want to speak to my grandfather about something, I first have to tell it to my mother and she will tell him what I said; thus it is very disappointing to me.*

SECTION 6:

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROCK POINT COMMUNITY SCHOOL: THE ISSUES OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION FROM A NAVAJO VIEWPOINT

The way in which Navajo language is taught at Rock Point differs not only as to its exemplary nature vis a vis other schools in the ways discussed in Section 2.4.ff. It also differs in more subtle ways with other contract schools, such as Rough Rock. While an in-depth comparison with Rough Rock or other contract schools would shed light on these differences in emphasis, such a comparison is beyond the scope of this report. Instead, we will look back to earlier times at Rock Point Community School, in order to highlight these emphases.

A disclaimer is in order. This is not intended to be a chronology of events leading up to the school. Such a chronology is a project in and of itself. Therefore, the events described here are intended primarily to provide more information about present conditions and the issues faced in implementing them. In this section, then, we will explore

A. why the people of Rock Point Chapter and Community decided to take control of their school.

B. what sorts of issues the people of Rock Point had to contend with before they could establish this school;

C. what sorts of issues the people of Rock Point had to contend with once the programs were developing.

D. why this program succeeded while others did not.

6.1. TO HAVE A COMMUNITY SCHOOL

It should be emphasized from the start that the idea of Rock Point school as a community-controlled school began long before the actual contracting, and was based on objectives far smaller in scope than is considered today. The following chronology provides an idea of the length of time involved in Rock Point School's history (Holm, 1973; also Roessel, 1979).

1935 (?): "First school" built: two-classroom day school.

194?: School becomes a "community day school": day and boarder

1953: Quonset hut added. Three-classroom day-and-boarding school

1958: Education committee formed by the Chapter to enlarge school

1963-4: "Second school" built: seven classroom boarding school

1967: Education Committee begins operating Title I

1968-9: "Third school" built: 16 classroom day-and-boarding school

1969: Council sets up "Local Navajo Community School Boards"

1971: Board receives Title VII grant from U.S. Office of Education. Board obtains small feasibility and planning grants from Bureau of Indian Affairs.

1972: "Fourth school." Board contracts with the Bureau for school operation.

1976: Seventh grade added; began adding one grade per year.

1977: Ninth grade added.

1981: Twelfth Grade Added.

The school was first built during the massive local school

construction program of the Collier Administration of the 1930's. By 1958 the Chapter had delegated an education committee whose primary task was to enlarge the school so that more students could attend a school close to their homes. Initially, they were simply to find out how to add a quonset hut to their two-room school. By 1960, they had, in effect, a growing school, and this growth occurred within the same period that the Bureau of Indian Affairs still had in effect the growth of their own school system (Szaz, 1979). Thus, funds were available for construction.

This coincidence was fortunate because, unlike other community-controlled schools today, the School Board could choose when they wanted to contract. That is, the contracting operation was not forced upon them when the BIA later changed its school expansion policy to consolidation in large, centralized on-Reservation boarding schools.

This also meant that they decided to contract because **they had reached the limits by which they could develop their program in the way they wanted it developed,** instead of having to "go contract" in order to save their community school from being closed by the Bureau. Thus, from about 1963 through 1967 they had been gradually been developing a community school program, and from a small beginning in 1967, with Title I monies, a bilingual education program. Up through 1971, then, the bilingual education program continued to grow through use of Title VII monies. It was only when the program could no longer progress

through these means that the decision was made to go contract. By that time, they had carefully throught throuh the kind of education they wanted: the integration of Navajo and English in schooling.

-----Díí kwe'é ółta' éí neeznáá náhai t'ah yówohdáá' éí baahwiiníť'íįgo hahoolzhiizh.

** *This kind of education has been for ten years now, before that time discussions about it began.*

-----Díí ółta'ígíí t'áá diné bi'ółta' ádoolníił ha'níigo, School Board yiniyé ałnáádaakai.

** *As a School Board they met often for the purpose of deciding how the school would be a Navajo-owned school.*

-----Jó díí kot'éego ółta' haalwoddóó bilagáanaa bizaad t'áá bił ahąąh yit'ihgo bee nanitindoo hodoo'niid.

** *You see, this is the way the school began, and it was said that they would have a teaching method in which both Navajo and English would be taught together*

-----Jó díí náás hodeezhiizhgóó nihizaadígíí doo yaadidookahda ha'níigo kót'éego ółta' haalwod.

** *You see, this Navajo way of communicating would not be lost, in the future, it was said; in this way the school began.*

-----Áádóó díí ałchíní bilagáanaa bizaad t'éiyá yíhooł'ąą'go áájí t'éiyá yee yáłti'doo áádóó t'áá áájí naanishígíí t'éiyá yaa'ákonízindoo.

** *And then, if the children are taught only in the English language, they will be fluent only in that language and have knowledge only of the Anglo way of working.*

-----Áko díí niha'ałchíní díí saadígíí dóó iinánígíí t'áá ałch'ihjí yaa'-ákonízindoo ha'níigo, School Board yah'anájahgo bee lą azlíį'.

** *Thus, our children will come to understand both languages and ways of life from both sides; it was discussed in the School Board meetings until it was approved.*

-----Áádóó k'ad éí díí ałchíní yá'át'éégo t'áá ałch'íhjí saadígíí binahjį' t'áadoole'é yaa'ákonízingo da'ółta'.

** *And then now that these children are fluent in both languages, they have come to understand many things in school.*

A comparison of the past and present by the following speaker pinpoints the main problem as a loss of respect for the

Navajo ways by their children, their attendant inability to think and act in a mature fashion, and the danger of no longer being able to pass on Navajo cultural knowledge to future generations.

-----Áko ła' łíį' bik'ih dah'adoo'niłgi doo bił ɬóédahózinda nít'éé', áádóó dibé yázhí bá ɬidooltsoɬgi ndi doo bił béédahózinda nít'éé'.
** *Thus, in previous times, some of the children did not even know how to saddle a horse, and they didn't even know how to feed a lamb.*

-----K'ad éí nizhónígo daashįį níltsogo éí yaa ákonidaniidzįį'.
** *Now, the children have very successfully relearned some of these important skills.*

-----Áádóó t'áá bí diididooɬjahgo átsą́ í'di'doolníił ndi doo yéédahósinda nít'éé'.
** *And then, they didn't even know how to build a fire or cook their own meal.*

-----Áko k'ad éí t'áá ałtso bił béédahózin kǫ' diltłi' dóó tó dóó ch'iiyáán bił ahįį' siláago ál'į, áko doo bich'į' anáhóót'i'góó ání'dílnéé́h.
** *Thus, now all of them are aware of and understand the process of fire and how water and food can be mixed to be cooked; and thus they now have become self-reliant.*

-----Áko éí shįį yee ch'ikéí dóó tsíłkéí dadooleeł áádóó t'áá éí yee sáanii dóó hastóí dadooleeł.
** *Thus, these will become the benefits which come to dependable young men and women, and later in life they will become respectable older men and womenfolk.*

-----Áádóó náásdi nida'iista'goshįį éí nizhónígo ba'áłchíní yee ninááde initin dooleeɬígíí át'éelá.
** *And then, when they have finished their education, in the future, they will continue on by instructing their children according to their own experience.*

The reversal of this deterioration was the overall goal of the program, and was to be achieved by instruction intended to instill respect for the culture on the part of the student, and by implication, the cognitive orientation needed to achieve a good life. The following speaker illustrates how the teaching of traditional Navajo cooking was part of the instruction

intended to help achieve this respect and good life.

-----Áádóó díí dinéjí t'áá ałk'idą́ą́' ch'iiyánáa ałdó' bee na'nitin hóló, jó éí koji dííjí t'áá bilagáanaa bich'iiyą' íił'ínígíí t'áá bił ahąąh yit'ihgo bee nanitin.

** *And then, they will be taught about food in the old traditional Navajo way; You see, at present time the Anglo food preparation is taught side-by-side, in a parallel fashion, with the Navajo teaching.*

-----Jó díí t'áá ałk'idą́ą́' ch'iiyáán daadánáa bee nanitinígíí éí t'óó binahjį' bił bééhózin doo áádóó yinahjį' nitsékeesdoo.

** *You see, the teaching about the way the old traditional food was obtained to be eaten is the means for them to start thinking.*

-----Áko díí kót'éego áłchíní bee nanitingo t'áadoo bahat'aadí łahgo át'éego yaanitsékees łeh, áko áádę́ę́' yininá'idiłkid łeh.

** *Thus, when the children are taught in this way, a very definite change in their way of thinking will occur; thus, in return they will ask questions about many things, as a rule.*

-----"Da' áko ch'iiyáán díigi át'éego ádaal'į nít'ę́ę́', áádóó da' díigi át'éego bee náás da'íldeeł", daaníigo nida'idiłkid łeh.

** *"Is it that the food was prepared in this way, and is it in this way that life was carried on with it?" they would inquire.*

-----Jó díí áłchíní doo bee nanitingóó éí díí diné bich'iiyą'ígíí t'óó yóts'i'go yi'įįgo neiilée łeh, áko éí yę́ę doo át'éeda yileeh.

** *You see, when the children are not taught in this way, then they will handle Navajo food with the tip of their finger, showing a dislike for it; Thus, all that will change when they are taught.*

-----Jó díí áłchíní doo bee nanitingóó éí diné be'é'él'į' doo bił nilįįda łeh, áádóó t'óó yee yidloh łeh.

** *You see, when the children are not taught in this fashion, they will not respect the traditional ways and will just laugh at them.*

-----Áko t'áá dinéjí nabi'di'nitingo éí dinéjí be'é'él'į' bił nilį nádleeh áádóó t'áá éí binahjį' ádił nidlį nádleeh.

** *Thus, when they are taught the Navajo ways they will respect them, and then that will result in their having self-respect.*

-----Áádóó díí náás deeyáágóó bił ílį dooleełgo éí díí ádóoné'é nilínígíí bee nabi'dineestą́ą́'go t'áá éí binahjį' doo yánízingóó k'é níi dooleeł.

** *And in later years he will be grateful that he was taught about his clanship, so that he will be washamed to relate to himself.*

-----Jó áádóó díí be'iina'ígíí yá'át'éehgo áyiilaago náás ba'áłchíní yee nínéí'nitindoo.

** *You see, when this philosophy of life provides him a good life, then later on he will teach his own children by means of it.*

Thus, the teaching of what seems to be a non-essential course to an outside observer was intended as a medium for the transmission of important cultural values. This values orientation would then facilitate the mastery of Western culture as well.

-----Áłchíní bizaad yínákwiidooł'áłígíí biniyé, diné bi'ó'ool'įįł t'áá'át'é, diné bi'oodlą' ałdó' áádóó índa kǫ' dilt'i'dóó hodees'áádóó hooghan biyi' áhoot'éhígíí dóó tł'óo'jí áhoot'éhígíí lá éí bee na'nitin.

** *Also constituting the source of our teaching was the purpose of having the children become again aware of and relearning their language; their cultural practices, their faith and their source of life, the fire and dwelling place, and their surrounding environment.*

-----Áádóó índa asdzání bidahiistł'ǫ́ dóó bi'na'ach'ąąh lá, sis daatł'ó, ts'aa' daatł'ó, díí áłchíníyázhí yíhwiidooł'ááł biniyé.

** *And then the rug and art work of the women, such as their sash belt and basket weaving--all this should be taught to the children.*

-----Áádóó ts'ídá t'áá át'é ahidiníłnáago yídahooł'aah doo, díí dahiistł'ó ałdó' yíhooł'aah doo, índa akał daatsid dóó béésh̨ligaíi yitsid dó', áko éí áłchíní yił nooséélgo yíhooł'aahgo áádóó t'áá yił ółta'doo.

** *Thus, we want them to learn everything in both cultures; we want them to learn weaving and later, work such as silversmithing; thus the children (at the same time) grow up with knowledge included in books.*

-----Áádóó índa k'é yíhooł'aah, shádí nínígíí yíhooł'aah, shitsilí, shideezhí, shimá dóó shizhé'é nínígíí yíhooł'aahdoo, háála ła' k'é ha'nínígíí doo bił béédahózinda.

** *And besides this they will learn the right relationships with other kin, such as "my older sister", "my younger brother", "my younger sister", "my mother and father", "--they will learn to say this; the reason for this is that many children (nowaday) do not know how to express themselves in the right way.*

-----Jó dinéjí ó'ool'įįłii ałtso bii' haiikáí nít'ęę'.

** *You see, we have almost removed ourselves from the Navajo way, in our education, completely.*

-----K'ad éí nizhónígo bitsiit'áádóó níléí bikéshlǫ́ąjį' diné bi'ó'ool'įįł dóó diné bizaad yínáhooł'aah áádóó bilagáanaak'ehgo yáti'dó' yíhooł'aah.

** *Now it is good because we have re-intergrated the whole body of the Navajo ways of education and use of Navajo and English languages are mastered.*

6.2. OBJECTIONS TO EARLY DEVELOPMENT

The fact that there was considerable discussion within the Chapter about the goal of the program and the instruction needed to implement this program goal implies that there was doubt and disagreement. The first issue to be confronted was the desire on the part of some parents for their children to learn English. In turn, they assumed that the best way to for their students to learn English is in an English-only classroom.

-----Áádóó dahdiit'i' nilínígíí éí Tsé Nitsaah Deez'áhí hoolyéhígíí, Chapter House biyi' baa yatí'go hodeesh'zhiizh.

** *And then discussion of Biligual Education for Rock Point Community was first initiated at the Rock Point Chapter.*

-----Áádóó Tsé Nitsaah Deez'áhígi éí diné bizaad dóó bilagáanaa bizaad t'áá bił ahii' sinilgo ólta'doo hodooniid.

** *And then the school at Rock Point will operate and educate children through the use of both English and Navajo languages, it was said.*

-----Áádóó ła' éí t'áá Waashindoon bi'ólta'ígíí bíni'dii t'áá dadíiniidgo áájí baa niyázti', díí ła' niha'álchíní t'óó ólta'góne bi'niiłnii'go bilagáanaa bizaad t'éiyá yíhooł'aah.

** *And then there were some who wanted to continue the BIA school, and as a result there was discussion to the effect of "if we continue to allow the BIA to teach our children they will learn only English".*

-----Ąko níléí nihizaadyęę dóó nihi'ó'ool'įįł yęę shą' éí hait'ée dooleeł, díí kóne' haz'ąągi, honeeshgish sitąągi, dóó kǫ' diltłi'gi, índa tsésk'eh haz'ąągi.

** *Thus (was the reply) what will become of our ways of doing things, the things at the place of our dwelling, our fire place, our fire and the place of our bedding?*

-----Díí nihílá ałdó' nihina'nitin hólǫǫne' bíni'dii t'áá ákót'ée dooleeł, bilagáanaa bizaad t'áá bił áhii' sinilgo ólta' dooleeł hodoo'niid.

** *We have all this for the teaching of our children; let us reserve that and intergrate it into the Anglo way of instruction and use it to educate our children, it was said.*

-----Áko t'áá yó bee alts'á'áldahgo táhodoolzhiizh.

** *Thus, there were different feelings about bilingual education for some time.*

Addressed to this objection was the overall goal of re-integrating their children into Navajo life, as described in 6.1. above.

Another issue was the doubt that Navajos were capable of operating their own schools so that children could be educated effectively. Program proponents replied to these doubts in two ways. First, they observed that leaving the education of their children to the BIA was what got them in trouble to begin with. The second, also outlined by the speaker below, appears to be implied by the first: since the BIA could not educate their children, the community at least deserves the opportunity to make their own mistakes.

-----Jó niha'áłchíní éí ólta'góne t'óó bi'niilnii' nít'ęę', áko doo bich'į' yéelti'góó t'óó nihá nánitin nít'ęę'.

** *You see, when we sent them to school to be taught before, we stopped our side of the instruction for our children.*

-----Jó áko nít'ęę' áłchíní doo hazhó'ó nitsékeesda nahalin silíį'.

** *You see, as a result of this, we discovered that our children no longer were thinking properly.*

-----Áádóó biniinaa ałts'á'áldah silį'ígíí éí Wááshindoon biyaa haikai, "éí doo nihá yá'át'éehda, ha'át'íishą' bee dabíníilyeedoo nínígíí t'óó ahayóí.

** *And then, because of these resulting difficulties (with their children) we disassociated ourselves from the BIA; thus, many said this is not good for us Navajo, "how can we operate our own school?".*

-----Áádóó bíni'dii jó t'áadoole'é nibíhonit'aahgo t'éiyá béehózin nínígíí ałdó' t'óó ahayóí, áko bíni'dii t'áá nihí dabíníilyeed doo.

** *And then, the saying of many more was "so what? a person can only learn through experimentation, so let us give a try to run our own school".*

-----Áko éí biniinaa i'di'yoo'nil hodooniid, áko t'áá Waashindoonjíígíí bá alá'níídee'go éí t'áá éí dooleeł, áádóó diné doo bilagáanaa bina'nitin t'áá bił ahii' sinilgo ólta'ígíí dó' dooleeł.

** *For that reason it was said "let us vote; if you on the side of Washington win, we will continue as a BIA school; if you on the side of using both Navajo and English languages for instruction win, so be it".*

-----Áko i'di'yoo'nił hodoo'niid, áko diné bi'ólta' nohsinígíí índa kót'éego sha'áłchíní íhooł'aahgo ólta'doo nohsinígíí áádóó Wááshindoon bi'ólta' bíni'dii náás yilwołdoo nohsinígíí ałdó' bá ida'diyoohnił, kódzaago, diné bizaad dóó bilagáanaa bizaad t'áá bił ahii' sinilgo ólta'doo hodooniidęę' bá alá'ríídee'go bee honeezná.

** *Thus, "we will vote", it was said, thus "those who are for Navajo-operated school, that is those who want to be involved in the education of their children, and those who want the BIA to continue the education of your children, you vote as you please", it was said; Thus there was a marjority vote for the use of both the Navajo and English language for the education of their children.*

To be sure, some of the decisiveness with which the events are described as occuring may be due to retrospection. The Board, for its part, was very cautious toward the way in which it dealt with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and went out of its way to avoid outright confrontations. When the readers consider these quotes, they should examine more how Navajos saw themselves as having to overcome a long-ingrained lack of confidence which they had in dealing with people in authority and in running their own affairs. One speaker attributed this lack of confidence to a generalized insecurity inherent in the feeling that the people here had never undertaken such a venture before.

-----Yik'ijį' danilínígíí éí díí biniinaa éí t'áadoo dadíiniida.

** *Those who were against it (i.e. the school) never really stated their reasons for being against it.*

-----Jó t'óó shįį doo nidayólíida ádin t'óó ájiní t'óó shįį kót'é.

** *You see, perhaps they doubted the (possibility of the school's) success; "they are lying" was perhaps their feeling.*

-----Áko íídąą' ólta' ákódoolníił hodoo'niidgo, t'óó yó doo da'ahijoodlą́ąda, ch'ínídahaniih t'óó aní, íídąą' bilagáanaa dóó t'áá diné nilįįgo yił ní'áázh.

** *Thus, during that time some didn't believe it possible for the Navajo to operate their own school, saying "I do not believe it possible".*

-----Áko t'áá ádzaagóó ájíní, jó kót'éego éí nitsáhákees, jó díí shį́į́ biniinaa ła' yits'ą́ąjí daníl̨į́į́ nít'ęę́'.

** *Thus, "I do not believe it possible" was the thought of some; you see, this was the reason some were against it.*

-----Áko, "shí éí Wáashindoon bi'ólta'jíígíí, jó daaní nahalingo íídą́ą́' t'áá łáhídi daats'í shíínáál baa'áłah azl̨į́į́'go.

** *Thus, "I am for the BIA school" was the statement made by some; this was during the time I attended one of the meetings.*

-----Jó íídą́ą́' éí ádaadin diné bi'ólta' kót'éhígíí, íídą́ą́' índa nahgóó naaznil sil̨į́į́', ákondishį́į́ t'áá doo ahaahodzódlí t'éiyá atis áníltsogo baa nitsáhákees.

** *You see, there was no Navajo-run school, and as a result, people were perhaps doubtful of each other, (thereby) outweighing other considerations.*

Interestingly, individuals in the area were well aware of developments in Rough Rock Demonstration School, to the southwest of Rock Point, and maintained that the community decisions to start a school there were based on the same concerns as at Rock Point, and faced the same issues. Indeed, the Rock Point people visited Rough Rock frequently. Thus, it appears that much of the the insecurity was seen as revolving around the generalized doubts that Navajos were capable of co-operation toward such ventures.

A third source of questioning was the fear that there would not be enough money available from the BIA to continue the school's operation.

-----Díí kót'éego ólta' bohodeest'ánáadą́ą́' éí ła' doo yik'ida'diitį́hda nít'ęę́', áko "háádęę́' shą' éí béesoo nídadidiit'áálgo" daaní nít'ęę́'.

** *When this bilingual educational program was first discussed for this school, some people did not understand; Thus, they questioned it at the time, saying "where will we obtain money to run our school?.*

While the issue was evidently resolved through a combination of community-level discussion, administrative jawboning, and demonstration (Flannery, 1973), people still worry about the availability of sufficient funds for growth...

-----Áádóó naakits'áadahjį' niníłta'go éí háadilá éí hódahgo ółta'ígíí yich'į' danáádidoodáał.

** *And when these children finish the high school, where will they go for a higher education?.*

-----Áko éí dó' t'áá kǫǫ́ kéyah bá náhodidootáał áádóó yii' danijahígíí ałdó' bá hóló́ogo t'áadoo bich'į' anáhóót'i'í nida'iiłtááhgo t'óó áájį' anáhákááhgo, ółta' le', laanaa hwiinidzin.

** *Thus, we would like to set aside a land around here for higher education; we would like them to have a dormitory, so that they can stay here while they are getting a higher education; this is our wish.*

-----Áko Wáashindoondęę́' béesoo ła' bee náká' anáá'ólyeedgo hooghan dóó bee biyi' dęę́' hadahodít'éhígíí t'áá'át'é bee ninaánáo'níił niidzingo baanıtsíikees.

** *Thus, we would like more funding from Washington in order to build more dormitories with all the inside furnishings; we wish for all this to happen as we think.*

-----Áko díigi át'éego éí amá dóó azhé'é niilinígíí áádóó amásání dóó ácheii niilínígíí baanitíikees, kót'éego éí nihił yá'át'ééh dóó baa ná'iikąąh.

** *This si the way we as mothers, fathers and grandparents do in fact think and look forward, and we ask for this from the funding agent.*

...or for present program goal implementation.

-----Jó díí Rock Point-jí ółta'ígíí éí t'áá łahágo, díí béesoo ha'nínígíí t'éiyá bi'oh nahalingo baa hane'.

** *You see, at this school at Rock Point, there is one draw back, which is that there is barely enough money for its operation.*

-----Áko doo t'áá kwe'é t'éiyá ákót'ée da, ndí t'áá'ałtsogo, Wáashindoon bi'ółta'góó ałdó' ákót'é.

** *Thus, this is not the only place facing this, but all Government funded schools.*

-----Áko aajíígíí éí béesoo daashį́į́ níłtsogo bá ádin éí biniinaa haaniłtsogo shį́į́, t'áá díkwíhí yee' éí bii' silá nahalin k'ad ákót'éego hoolzhish.

** *Thus, now the money available for bilingual education is small; therefore we have integrated only a few of the things we want to integrate into our educational program.*

6.3. ISSUES ARISING AFTER THE PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

Once the program was in process, a number of those who had either questioned the educational approach, or who were taking a "wait-and-see" attitude were convinced of the program's efficacy through its demonstration.

-----Jó k'ad éiyá łą'áda diné nizhónígo yaa'ákoniizį́į'go nihik'ina'aldeeh.
** *Thus, there are now many Navajos who well understand, and are bringing more and more children here.*

-----Áádóó k'ad éí díí kwe'é ółta'ígíí hadeesíid biniyé haashį́į nízáádę́ę́' nihaanída'aldah.
** *And now that we have a school here to be observed, many people come from far away to observe.*

-----Áádóó díí kwe'é ółta'ígíí t'áá danízaadę́ę́' ndi ba'ałchíní nidayii'ééshgo łą'áda yáhááda'diil'įįh.
** *And then many parents come from a considerable distance to bring their children here for registration at this school.*

-----"Díí diné dóó bilagáanaa bizaad áádóó diné índa bilagáanaa be'é'él'į' t'áá bił ahąąh naanilgo ółta'ígíí nizhóní" daaníigo' ba'ałchíní nidayii'éésh.
** *"It is good that the Navajo and English languages are both being taught side-by-side as a method of teaching", they would say as they enroll their children.*

-----Díí amá dóó azhé'é éí díí kót'éego ółta'ígíí binahjį' kót'éego dayiił-tsą́ągo áádóó yaa nitsídaazkéézgo éí aadę́ę́' ba'ałchíní nidayiiníił.
** *When they saw this way of learning and thought about it afterward, these mothers and fathers would afterwards enroll their children here.*

One issue which had erupted as the program progressed was the degree to which Navajo culture would involve the teaching of religion. The teaching of religion has been a bone of contention because Rock Point shares with many other parts of

the Reservation a diversity of other religious faiths practiced by Navajos who nevertheless call themselves Traditional. Among the three dominant religions in the area are the Traditional Navajo Religion (Dine k'eji bi'oodla'); the Native American Church (Azee' bee nahaghaaji bi'oodla') and various denominations of organized church-controlled Christians (Bilagaanaa bi'oodla'), and some Navajo-controlled Christian churches (oodla' t'aa dine dayiilyeedigii).

One concern voiced by students of Navajo culture elsewhere was that Christians and Native American Church people would disagree vehemently on the degree to which Navajo culture should be taught. While the small size of the ethnographic sample precludes a definitive answer, it appears that all the religions co-exist within the school community. Co-existence appears to be based, at least in part, on restrictions placed on the teaching of Navajo cultural knowledge, much of which is sacred and which could be easily abused. To state the limitation is simple: **a conceptual difference has been made by at least some of the Navajos betwween what would properly be the domain of the home and what should be taught in the school.** The latter was properly the domain of K'e or "clanship, while the former is referred to as specifically sacred teachings, to be imparted through the family.

It was very difficult to ascertain what were the crucial properties of K'e which distinguished it from the more sacred teachings of Navajo medicine men, the Native American Church and

the Christians. One Navajo, however, ventured an explanation of the differences. The key difference appears to be that religion--whatever its foundation--is comprised of unchanging beliefs, while K'e--and culture--are comprised of principles of how humans should act toward each other and how children should be brought up to act accordingly.

> I don't really know what...they teach here because nobody has given me a general idea of what they teach, but I know clanship. Way back we used to get told to run and all that, and herd sheep....There are a lot of places where the are empty corrals [now, however]. Most parts of the culture--I think--should be taught so that they [i.e. the students] know their culture. When some people brings up the culture [however], they are confused with the religious [aspect]. I don't think they mean the same thing.

> The way I understand it, culture is nothing but the way you have been brought up--up to this day--as our grandparents taught their children since they are younger until they are adults, and the way they dress, [the way] they act and the [way they] addresses--this is culture, the way I understand it.

> [Culture is when] your grandparents would tell you "don't just lie there, do something, get up early in the morning. Run! That way, when you grow up, you won't be late to do nothing, [or be] lazy"--all that. "You may as well be prepared for the life ahead of you." That is what you would be told.

Culture, as the individual describes it, is thus a set of orientations and proscriptions which children should learn and follow no matter what their beliefs. He offers further explanation by suggesting that "respect" should be taught, **and especially because much of the opportunity to learn these things through practice are no longer available** (c.f. the observation in the first speaker's quote, that many sheep corrals are empty).

Again, we interpret this "respect" to mean acceptance of the proscriptions and values derivable from the beliefs without accepting the beliefs themselves. Thus, one may perhaps be taught the **importance** of legends and prayers, but not actually have to undergo a ceremony. Similarly, a teacher might teach about the importance of a ceremony without reciting the actual changes and prayers which have important power.

On the other hand, another speaker discusses how he taught various subjects in Navajo class which pertained to traditional practices. Nevertheless, the **importance** of these practices in leading a good life is stressed, not their sacred nature.

-----Jó díí t'óó níyáhąądą́ą́' éí t'áá ałtso t'áá yó doo bił bééʼ dahózinda nít'ęę́', áádóó hóshdęʼ łą'ágóó bił nahosésnoʼ; áko k'ad éí t'áá yaa'ádahonízin, áádóó ayóogo nida'ídiłkid.

** *You see, when I first came here, just about all (the students) knew little of what I was teaching them; then later, I taught them many things, so now they understand clearly and ask many questions.*

-----Díí kweʼé t'óó níyáhágo éí awéétsʼáál ál'į yídahoolʼą́ą́' áádóó bee hadít'éii ádaalyéhígíída.

** *When I first came, they had learned names for many parts of the Cradle Board Art Work.*

-----Áádóó díí bee adizí ál'įįgi da, índa níléídęę́' bee iiná ál'įįgo binahjį' hosiidlįį'góóda bił hashneʼ.

** *And then I would tell them about the Navajo spinning stick (i.e. for spinning wool for weaving yarn): the art of making it, how to make a living by it, and how we grew up by means of it.*

-----Jó íídą́ą́' éi naanish ádaadingo kót'éego hosiidlį́į́'; jó k'ad éí kǫ́ǫ́ naanish dahóló bidishníigo bił hashne'.

** *You see, when we grew up there was no wage work, so I tell them "you see, now there is wage work".*

-----Áádóó díí hooghan dó' ła' anáádeiilyaa, áko hooghan si'ą́ągi dóó bii' siláii da bee bił nahosésne'.

** *And then we made a traditional hogan (i.e. house); thus, I would tell them about the teaching around and inside the hogan.*

-----Áádóó ch'il ał'ąą ádaalyéii dóó chodaoo'į́į́gi dabínabinishtin.

** *And then I would teach them about the different names of plants and how they are used.*

The first speaker adds that some Christian leaders may have misunderstood this distinction, between actual ceremonial performance and respect for the importance of the ceremonies.

> [When culture is taught] all there should be taught is how to respect. That is all. Well, you know, some of them will like to be a priest, or something like that....I think those are the kind of people that mix what the culture and religion are. I wonder whether some of these people work here at Rock Point. I think they are Christian. And when somebody talks about the culture, they think it is the same as religion. Some of them go to NAU. I don't know what they learn about that. The way I know it is that culture and religion are not the same.
>
> The way the dictionary [defines it]...culture and religion have different meanings. And religions will have different meanings too. That's why the people are confused. That's why they say "I don't want Rock Point to be taught in culture." That's why they get mixed up.

6.4. OTHER ISSUES OF VARIABILITY

While an increasing number of parents have been sending their children to Rock Point as the program continues, the fact remains that there are other schools in the area to which

parents send their chiadren. In fact, right across the road from the Rock Point School is a Lutheran mission school serving children from nearby.

Religious issues similar to those in 6.3. appear to be of some influence toward urging children to attend the mission school. However, the students have a great part in deciding where they will attend. Some are better at mastering English and do not want to take up time learning Navajo. This is particularly true for highschool students who have spent most of their educational careers mastering English elsewhere.

> Our kids are all mixed; there are some [who] like doing sort of writing down--they are writing Navajo and all--but some of the professionals...don't even know how to write two times two, but they do better in the [writing skills]. That is what one teacher from NAU [Northern Arizona University] told me....I think that the students are the same way with that: some of them go faster in English and some would go faster in Navajo. I think that--whatever they are fit in--they [should not be] pushed to do what they do not want to do. If they do not want to do the Navajo, they can just let it go--maybe give them a test or something, and let it go to English.

Other parents mentioned similar decisions on the part of secondary-level students. One girl had grown up speaking no Navajo and therefore found the Rock Point system difficult. She theretore reportedly did much better at a nearby public school. Student distress with such difficulties have been noted in other Contract Schools.

As for parents who send elementary school students elsewhere, there is less information in this study. Some, are indigent and cannot afford to keep their children at home, and as a result have had to relinquish educational responsibility to

perhaps a BIA dormitory school.

Again, the student decision plays a great part, with some of them having no desire to learn certain subjects required by Rock Point, such as Navajo.

> Our kids are truant like that. [My kid,] he wants to be an engineer. Right now he would have been pushed back [i.e. held back in high school a grade] because he does not know how to write Navajo. We could go faster in English--in math and all that--so he has been put back in the Navajo writing....Anyway, I let it go and I told him "you finish it here; you have one more year to go." And he told me "I am not going to school anymore; they put me back where I was because I do not know this Navajo; they put me back where I was before; I am not going." So, I told him "there is a bus out there, go and pick up a bus for the Red Mesa Public School" He just jump and took his book and took off. Down there he got put just one year...behind his [older] brothers [because] they gave him tests. So, he went on through [to] Engineering School at Phoenix.

We could nowhere find a rule that stated that students in the secondary levels of school were held back in their progress because they did not master Navajo language classes. Some administration maintained that they wished that this rule were the case, but that it was not. Thus, other factors may be at work here. For example, it was reported that some students simply wanted to avoid the often burdensome responsibilities they had at home, and felt that a boarding school would be a good place to get away from them. Many more such decisions are also no doubt possible.

6.5. WHY ROCK POINT AND NOT SOMEWHERE ELSE?

The concerns voiced by people in Rock Point have been raised elsewhere on the Navajo Reservation. Only rarely has this voicing resulted in action being taken toward the

contracting of school program and a movement toward community control. Blame could easily--and with good reason--be laid with the Bureau of Indian Affair's opposition to such programs. The Bureau made overt attempts to delay and frustrate the implementation of the program by regularly raising issues of policy and contracting, and by inciting community resistance by telling local BIA school workers that they would lose their jobs (Flannery, 1973). But the question remains as to why Rock Point and Rough Rock still managed to initiate their programs while others did not. A good part of the answer therefore resides with the organization of Rock Point's Chapter, School Board, and school staff. A highlighting of these features from the viewpoint of the School Board and Administration may help explain the program's success.

Perhaps the most important factor in the school's success is simply that the program has been in action for a long time so that decision to contract could be made more on the terms of the School Board, then on the broad sweeping policy changes in the Bureau (see 6.1.).

This also means that they decided to contract the program before the Indian Self-Determination Act provided Federal mandate. Title VII monies too came much later, and their use has since been discontinued. The school thus had the opportunity to develop gradually, and to do so from within, not in rapid response to opportunity (or emergency) from the Federal Government.

SECTION 7

CONCLUSION

In this report we first discused in Section 3, how we came to define and choose Rock Point as an exemplary bilingual education program. In Section 4, we provided a structural description of what kind of education the parents and staff involved with the school wanted. What they wanted, in effect, could be seen as a philosophy of education stated as an end goal--the well-directed person--and a sequence of objectives, stated as the kinds of values they wanted their educated people to have.

In Section 5 we described how the school implemented this philosophy of Navajo education through the teaching of certain elements of these activities. The Navajos clearly intended this instruction not simply as the strict impartation of Navajo cultural knowledge or of Western skills **per se**, but as important elements in values orientations which would facilitate the learning of Navajo knowledge, and by implication, Western knowledge. While this intent is made manifest in Section 4, it becomes more obvious in Section 5, because here, the effects of this instruction are described more clearly; and these effeects are the orientation of the idndividuals's thought and ability to learn--in Navajo terms.

It is with Section 6, however, that some of the doubts about the Program are dicussed, which Navajos in the community raised. For the most part, these are doubts still raised by

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Navajos elsewhere on the Reservation, to this very day (Platero **et al**, 1977). Thus, many Navajos are still against bilingual education because the Navajo language is considered something which should be taught, in its religious contexts, at home, not in the purportedly foreign contexts of school. Similarly, Navajos voice doubt that they can run their schools. They also fear forfeiture of their scarce funding, should they so wish to "go contract" (Platero **et al**, 1977).

At the same time, they complain about the unilateral decision-making, the lack of individualized care for their children, and policy-based disregard by these schools for the cultural heritage of the Navajos (Platero **et al**, 1977). They similarly lament the scorn for Navajo ways brought home from school by their children, the deterioriation of their Navajo language competence, and their inability to cope with a bicultural environment. In fact, an increasing number see good need for teaching in two cultures (Roessel, 1979). In Section 6, then, we also discussed the features of the Rock Point Community and school which allowed these concerns to be converted to meaningful action in Navajo terms.

In the remainder of this section, then, we must remind the reader just what this report is and is not. In 7.1. we will address ourselves to issues inherent in the limitations of ethnography in general. In 7.2., we will discuss some of the limitations which emerge from the use of cognitive ethnography, and the fact that we concentrated our interviews on what was

important to the people in Rock Point, rather than on a pre-arranged set of questions.

7.1. REPRESENTATION AND PSYCHOLOGICAL REALITY

7.1.1. DEPTH OF INTERVIEW VS. BREADTH OF SAMPLE

First, we may ask whether or not the Report treats adequately the breadth of knowledge and opinion in Rock Point toward the school. To insure beyond a reasonable doubt that we have in fact done so requires a statistical survey, which is beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheeless, the depth fo the ethnographic interviews, combined with the small numbers of people sampled, compensates to a degree (See 2.1.) for lack of breadth. This partial compensation is in part possible because, first, individuals could discuss what they themselves know about other opinions. Second, in-depth interview of the nature done here will usually obtain variability of opinion in a small number of people. Third, Rock Point Communtiy was small enough that a judgemental sample could be obtained of different people involved with the school in different ways, and attitudes compared (See 2.1.3.).

7.1.2. THE SHARING OF A BODY OF KNOWLEDGE: PSYCHOLOGICAL REALITY

Second, we may ask about the degree to which all individuals adhere to the philosophy outlined in Sectin 4. Two further questions derive from this. The first concerns what may be loosely termed psychological reality. The second pertains to a peculiar form of bias (see 7.1.3.). The question of psychological reality involves determining the degree to which

all individuals in a community or social system share certain perceptions or knowledge. We assume that all individuals of a community must share at least enough knowledge in order for the society to function as it has been described as functioning in this ethnography.

Again, to pinpoint beyond a reasonable doubt the degree to which knowledge and perceptions are shared requires statistical testing of cognition, which is beyond the scope of this study. Thus, for example, we could conduct a multidimensional scaling of shared attributes among a random sample of at least 80 people. If the attributes clustered with high correlation among terms within these clusters, they would have a high degree of semantic similarity (if the elicitation instrument were constructed properly). In turn, if they had a high degree of semantic similarity, taxonomic trees could be inferred from the clusters (Burton & Nerlove, 1976). If these **inductively-derived** trees were congruent to those derived from the ethnographic study, we would have validated the ethnographic conclusions.

One additional detail is necessary here. **The best way to conduct such a survey would be to conduct the ethnography first,** so that the testing, or elicitation, instrument could be worded properly and hypotheses properly defined. Short of this approach (a rigorously desirable one, to be sure), it is safe, at this time, to propose that, because of shared meaning of terms used in the Navajo language **all individuals have immediate access to this knowedge because, once communicated this knowledge should be**

understood and synthesized by all its members. The way to test this simpler proposal, or hypothesis, is then simply to present the synthesis in Section 4 back to the School Board (or other polity) and solicit their approval or critique.

Thus, we assume for now that the taxonomy presented in Section 4 is a synthesis from the interview information of many individuals, and not in the head of any one person. The taxonomy is nevertheless a description of the cultural system, because we assume that all individuals share at least enough of this knowledge not only to initiate the program, but to keep the social system (i.e. Rock Point Community School) operating and evolving.

7.1.3. BIAS AND CONSENSUS

The question of bias enters here because it is necessary to consider the possibility that some key individuals in the system know more about it than do others. For example, some individuals who had been with the school for a relatively long time (since its inception, for example) might be more familiar with philosophical goals of the schools than would newer members. Consideration of this possibility prompted the researchers to sample, initially, individuals who had been involved closely with the program a long time and then interviewing a second sample of individuals who had been less involved, or whose children went to school elsewhere (see 2.1.3.). Through this judgemental sampling we found that sharp differences in attitude toward bilingual teaching seemed related

less to deep-seated differences in community and more to how long the individuals had worked with the school and had learned informally the philosophical principles. Thus, sampling bias had to take into account the informal socializing influences of the school itself on the workers and community.

7.2. FEATURES AND BIASES OF COGNITIVE ETHNOGRAPHY

The application of cognitive ethnography requires that we address ourselves to

A. The generality of the philosophy and its immediate applicability

B. The fact that it is an ideal formulation and must be compared against the reality of classroom performance

C. The fact that this is a description, and while applicable to an evaluation, is itself not an evaluation.

D. The reasons that various parts in the Program, such as the development of the Postsecondary program, were discussed less than the primary and elementary.

7.2.1. GENERALITY

A quick glance at the master taxonomy in Section 4 conveys the idea that the philosophy is highly generalized and stated at a high level of abstraction. y, With high abstraction and generality, it is also applicable to the whole life of a person.

These issues have all pointed to one central one: is this a philosoph. of learning in general, which any Navajo could have, or is it proper to Navajos at Rock Point? We maintain that it is proper to Navajos at Rock Point because they

themselves observed that they refined their philosophy as a result of observing the program in actin. Moreover, since our questions were initially directed toward finding what were the impacts of the school program (see 2.1.3.), it is likely that the philosophy pertains to one of education and schooling, rather than of learning, in general.

7.2.2. IDEALIZATION VS. THE REAL

Some teachers and staff at Rock Point School maintained that the philosophy is an idealization of behavior, or a proscription of ideal behavior, and does not spell out clearly what is done in the event of discipline problems or other educational-related issues. We would certainly have to concede that this is true, to an extent. However, these staff also observed that the study was applicable toward more particular activites in two ways. Some Navajo staff observed that one application was the development of Navajo curriculum, which could be extended from what had already been formulated from the Report.

Some non-Navajo staff observed that it provided a basis for how to expect that students would and should behave in class. This observation is clearly important more widely than at Rock Point because it addresses itself to the question of how to define and analyze issues in the school and classroom. For a long time there has been a tendancy to attribute problems in the classroom to the culture of the minority student. To be sure, such an approach is certainly an improvement over the informal

tendancy to blame problems on lack of parental and student concern for education. Nevertheless, when this approach is narrowed only to the student and his or her family, it becomes simply a more refined version of "blaming the victim." The obvious solution is to look at school, student and family as a system (Bohannan **et al**, 1973), and any good ethnography should aid this inquiry

Thus, this study is not a proscription of how to teach; it is a systematic perspective. If this is true, then it is also unlikely that this study is a guide for how to replicate this program elsewhere.

7.2.3. EVALUATION

Rock Point School System has an intricate combination of internal and external evaluations for their programs. The external ones are required by the BIA, the Navajo Tribal Division of Education, as well as by a number of granting agencies contributing to the program. Mention has also been made of explicit classroom observations in 5.1.3.ff. This study is descriptive, and it is unlikely that it would contribute directly to either internal or external evaluation.

On the other hand, it is possible that it will contribute, in the future, to defining **parameters** for such evaluations. For example, if an outside evaluator decided that the classes were too structured, Rock Point staff would be in a position to require that the evaluator took into account the Navajo philosophy of education in its final recommendations.

7.2.4. WHY NOT THE HIGH SCHOOL?

It is obvious from the description in Section 5 that the high school and junior high programs are not as intricately described as are the primary and elementary systems. Three possible reasons emerge. The first, we must acknowledge, is the possibility that we simply did not ask the right questions, or did not direct the questions properly once the open-ended questions had been asked (see 2.1.ff). While this is always possible, we also suspect that had it been a visible issue with parents, they would have found a way of discussing it.

Also plausible is the possibility that the parents had not thought as much about the secondary school as they had about the primary and elementare ones. Almost all the parents and staff with whom we interviewed had had at most a third grade education, with the exception of the professional and administrative staff. Thus, they may not know as much about what a high school should do.

Third, it is possible that the parents have concentrated more on the primary and elementary grades because they have identified these grades (as have many other people, no doubt) as the most important in the orientation of their students.

At the same time, it is obvious from Section 6 that the parents have thought about the school program, and fully intend that their philosophical goals and objectives be throughout the life of an individual. If this is the case, then parents are simply thinking their program through at a comfortable pace, and

are hardly to be faulted for advancing their program at a pace which best effects their participation in the education of their children.

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APPENDIX I
COMPARISON OF SCHOOLS BASED ON SELECTION CRITERIA

A-1. TITLE I ESEA

Title I funds are utilized, here, to provide supplemental programs and personnel to ameliorate educational deficiencies in langauge arts, reading, mathematics, and special education (in accordance with PL 94-142). On the next page is a list of the 57 BIA-funded schools (i.e. funded either through Navajo Area educational allocations, or directly, through contract, with the Department of the Interior through PL(95-561) reviewed. Of these 55 are primary-elementary schools and two are secondary. Tuba City, one of the secondary schools, shared facilities with the State of Arizona-funded school system. When information was available, all were first reviewed as to criteria in "D" in A-1. above.

Chinle Boarding School	Dilcon Boarding School
Cottonwood Boarding School	Greasewood Boarding School
Low Mountain Boarding School	Hunters Point School
Lukachukai Boarding School	Kinlichee Boarding School
Many Farms High School	Pine Springs School
Nazlini Boarding School	Seba Dalgai Boarding School
Pinon Boarding School	Tohatchi Boarding School
Rock Point Community School	Toyei Boarding School
Rough Rock Demonstration School	Wide Ruins Boarding School
Alamo Boarding School	Aneth Community School

Baca Boarding School

Borrego Pass Community School

Bread Springs School

Canoncito Community School

Chichiltah Boarding School

Dloo'ii Yazhi Day School

Crownpoint Boarding School

Dził na'o' dilii Day School

Jones Ranch Day School

Lake Valley Day School

Mariano Lake School

Pueblo Pintado Boarding School

Standing Rock Boarding School

Ojo Encino Day School

Torreon Day School

Wingate Elementary School

Fort Wingate High School

Chuska Boarding School

Crystal Boarding School

Beclabito Day School

Cove Day School

Nenahnezad Boarding School

Red Rock Day School

Sanostee Boarding School

Teecnospos Boarding School

Toadlena Boarding School

Chilchinbeto Day School

Dennehotso Boarding School

Kaibeto Elementary School

Kayenta Boarding School

Leupp Boarding School

Navajo Mountain School

Red Lake Day School

Rocky Ridge Boarding School

Shonto Boarding School

Tuba City Boarding School

Tuba City High School

A-1.1. LANGUAGE ARTS

All schools carried some sort of langauge arts program. Title I funds were almost always used to support Navajo-speaking teacher aides to work with regular classroom teachers. These aides were intended to "provide individualized, small or whole group instructions" or to "provide reinforcement activities for target students and assist the teacher by interpreting concepts into the children's native language."

A-1.1.1. THE INSTRUCTIONAL CAPACITY OF NAVAJO TEACHING AIDES AND MATERIALS DEVELOPMENT

Of the 57 schools, Baca Boarding School, Canoncito and Dennehotso explicitly included "bilingual instruction" or "use of Navajo where needed" as part of the activities. However, we found that these differed little from approaches used in other schools utilizing Title I funds, which can be described in the following terms:

A. Navajo-speaking aides are expected to provide interpretation for teachers in general instruction

B. Aides then work with individual students or small groups of students who are identified by teachers as having trouble with spoken and written English.

C. Instruction by aides does not have to proceed according to any lesson plan, systematic translation, body of curriculum materials, or testing in Navajo language skills.

In effect, funds for Title I Language Arts appear to be used primarily as a means of hiring low-cost Navajo paraprofessionals to provide **ad hoc** translation for the Anglo teacher. The term "bilingual" can be said to apply only insofar as both languages (Navajo and English) must be used, from time to time, in the instruction process. The student's immediate mastery of English language skills is the primary behavioral objective of these programs.

A-1.1.2. PERSONNEL TRAINING

Navajos hired in Title I programs do not qualify for many of the promotion tracks and security benefits available to Civil Service employees. They are hired on yearly-renewable contracts. While the BIA school administrators will generally

release such aides should they wish to participate in training programs (such as the Navajo teacher Education Development Project (NTEDP) administered by the Navajo Tribe), it is clearly not to their interest to make the availability of these programs widely known to their contract employees. This is because the periodical absence of the aides detracts from the viable functioning of the classroom and cannot be justified as the upgrading of Navajo personnel for performance improvement, since the hiring of these Navajo personnel is only temporary.

The usual justification given for this state of affairs is that ther is a shortage of qualified Navajo teachers, which is true. However, the scope of Title I-funded progams cannot be interpreted, from the information presently available, to be used in a way to ameliorate this shortage.

A-1.1.3- IMPLICATIONS FOR SCREENING

From the considerations in A-1.1.1. - A-1.1.2. we conclude that none of the Title I programs in language arts can be said to qualify the schools above for exemplary status, with one exception: **Rock Point Community School.** Contrary to the findings above, this school was the only one for which **both** of the following applied:

A. The program was intended to utilize Navajo teachers, not teacher aides, in instruction of the students.

B. The program was intended to utilize English as a Second Language as the means to improve language skills.

This means that Rock Point is the only school which adheres

to the position that initial instruction should proceed from Navajo, with English taught as a second language. It is also the only school in which Navajo and English are taught side-by-side throughout the student's whole school career. Both considerations are important because it appears that many Navajos, if their hopes for the future are taken seriously into consideration, would like Navajo and English taught concurrently, not to have Navajo language-based material used as a means of transition into English.

A-1.2. OTHER TITLE I-RELATED PROGRAMS

Other activities funded by Title I include reading, remedial mathematics, and special education. These have little bearing on whether or not Title I activities could be considered bilingual education. The reading courses were all openly designed to improve reading skills in English. Generally, age grades 2 and up were the targets. Math programs were introduced at later ages (grades 5 and up), and no claim was made to the use of any forms of bilingual instruction. Special education was instituted in response to PL 94-142, and again, no claim was made for bilingual education.

A-A- TITLE IV ESEA

These funds may be used to upgrade secondary educational services, including curriculum development, and therefore may be discussed in connection with bilingual education. All schools funded through the BIA are discounted from examination because of BIA decisions made for Fiscal Year 1980:

> Funds received for Fiscal Year 1980 under this part [i.e. Part B] shall be expended for Library Resources, other Instructional Materials, Testing, Counseling, and Guidance. Upon receipt of these funds, they shall be made available to the Agencies and Schools on an individual project basis.
>
> Funds allotted to Navajo Area for Fiscal Year 1980 [i.e. Part C] shall be expended in accordance with the approved Bureau of Indian Affairs annual program plan.

(Navajo Area Report: "Attacking Educational Deficiencies Through Special Projects" FY 1980, pp 126-127).

No other Title IV projects have come to our attention from state-funded public schools. One contract school, the Navajo Academy, is utilizing Title IV, Part B funds for bilingual curriculum development. However, because that program has been funded only as of this year, it is not considered in the choice of an exemplary program.

A-3. TITLE VII ESEA

A-3.1. BIA-FUNDED SCHOOLS

These funds are the ones specifically designated for design of bilingual educational curricula, teaching programs, and training of bilingual teachers. For schools funded by BIA, the FY 1980 Directory does not list any programs. All that is reported is that:

> Funds allocated to schools by the Office of Education, Title VII, shall be used as authorized in the approved projects. The main emphasis of Title VII projects in the Navajo Area is in development of bilingual programs and materials for Grades K through A-

No schools were listed specifically for FY 1979 or FY 1980. For FY 1978, bilingual educational programs were reported as

offered at Lake Valley, Low Mountain, Pinion, Many Farms and Sanostee schools.

A-3.1.1. SCREENING IMPLICATIONS

Many Farms High School was eliminated from consideration because it failed to satisfy Criteria "D" and "G" in the beginning of Section A- That is,

A. It is only a supplemental course, for one period per day.

B. It includes only grade levels 9 - 12, and is therefore of little relevance to other schools who might have to integrate high school curricula (as entrance requirements for their students) with primary and elementary schools.

C. No mention was made of curriculum materials development.

D. Training and upgrading of teachers is definitely not included in the program.

Pinion and Low Mountain--and also Cottonwood Day School--make use of the servics of AIBEC and NAMDC. Curriculum materials requested from NAMDC included the Navajo language versions of the Science Curriculum Improvement Study (SCIS) prepared by NAMDC. These materials are written in the Navajo language and translated directly from English language versions. Navajo teachers are provided an intensive two-week training period in which they learn the fundamentals of Navajo literacy. This literacy workshop is necessary because the materials are written in Navajo. In the materials themselves, Navajo summaries of given subjects are listed with key terms denoting them, and a set of sentence attributes supplying further detail are provided. Teachers are then at liberty to insert their own

knowledge into the courses when drawing up their lesson plans.

However, these three schools were eliminated from consideration because the materials by teachers were pilot tested only last year. While the reviews and comments of these materials were favorable, more time is needed for long-term review.

Sanostee utilizes the same services as Low Mountain and Pinion. In addition, it utilizes the services of the University of New Mexico staff who are flown in to upgrade and train instructional staff at the school. This program, unlike the others, has been in existence in some form for the last 10 years. However, a review of the materials developed before the involvement of AIBEC indicates that all of them were in English. Thus, a true bilngual educational approach has only been in process for at most two years.

A-3.1.2. THE ADDITIONAL CRITERION: NAVAJO LITERACY

Finally, in none of these schools, is Navajo literacy for the students stressed. We feel, in view of the discussion in A-1.1.3-, that this criterion should be included in screening. NAMDC staff explained that the Bureau of Indan Affairs policy on bilingual education tended to discourage any attempt to teach literacy. Therefore, NAMDC curriculum development staff were limited to training Navajo teachers and teacher aides in the oral presentation of science materials (SCIIS).

A-3.2. OTHER TITLE VII NON-LITERACY PROGRAMS

A-3.2.1. PROGRAMS OUTSIDE BIA PURVIEW

Other schools, outside of the BIA administration system, also receive Title VII help from AIBEC. This includes Bloomfield, Window Rock, Fort Defiance, and Tuba City.

An examination of its Title VII proposal justified the exclusion of Bloomfield from consideration because:

A. The primary goal of the program was the upgrading of non-Navajo teachers rather than training of Navajo teacher aides.

B. Navajo literacy was not to be taught in the schools.

Funding was not continued through FY 1981, in any event.

Fort Defiance and Tuba City require more serious attention because both include programs for literacy. They will be discussed in 1-4. below. Window Rock is dismissed because of its deletion of literacy as part of the program.

A-3.2.2. OTHER PROGRAMS WITHIN BIA ADMINISTRATION SYSTEM ASSISTED BY AIBEC

These schools include Rock Point, Round Rock, Pine Hill (Ramah), Chinle Boarding School and Flagstaff Boarding School. These were not listed in the FY 1980 BIA Directory "Attacking Educational Deficiencies Through Special Projects." Nevertheless, AIBEC and NAMDC reported providing them services. Chinle and Flagstaff and Round Rock are eliminated because of the relative newness of their programs (2 years) and because literacy is not practiced (see A-3.1.3- above). Additionally,

Flagstaff's location in a border town suggests that a significant percentage of students, although Native American, are not Navajo. Thus, English is usually the main **lingua Franca** of classroom communication.

This leaves Rough Rock, Rock Point and Pine Hill (Ramah) schools. These programs have been supported by funds in addition to Title VII, and all are contract schools whose programs have been in action for more than five years. All provide literacy courses to their students as part of the bilingual educational curricula.

1-4. FINAL SCREENING DECISIONS

The following schools therefore emerge for serious consideration as having exemplary bilingual educational

A. Rock Point Community School
B. Tuba City Public School
C. Pine Hill (Ramah) Navajo School
D. Rough Rock Demonstration School
E. Fort Defiance Public School
F. Borrego Pass Community School
G. Little Singer Community School

With the exceptions of "B" and "E" these schools are all community-controlled contract schools.

We concluded that Rock Point has the most competitive advantage for consideration, when compared with the other programs. Our inferences are based on a perusal of recent

evaluations of programs of these schools from the Navajo Division of Education.

1-4.1. TUBA CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Since 1973 there has been a center for bilingual educational curriculum development. While this center was originally intended for other Indian groups in addition to Navajo, its emphasis shifted to Navajo by 1975. However it was not until 1979 that attempts were made to integrate the curriculum materials generated by this center into the standard classroom instruction. This delay has been due to resistance by State and District administrations and it is reasonable to assume that had it not been for the persistence of key Center staff, there still might not be any classroom implementation. Rock Point, therefore, has had a more stable and continuous history, as well as greater administrative support for its program.

1-4.2. PINE HILL

Pine Hill School is unique in that its first bilingual education materials developments were directed toward secondary school students, rather than elementary and primary students. Subsequently, its materials development has been directed toward younger student clientele, as the scope of the school's program was widened gradually to include younger grades. This is the reverse of the progress that the other schools have made, in which bilingual education programs are initiated at the primary levels and increased in scope to include secondary levels. Rock

Point, therefore, carries with it a competitive advantage on Criterion "G" in A-1. because ethnographic study of its program would be more widely applicable to those in other schools.

1-4.3- ROUGH ROCK DEMONSTRATION SCHOOL

Rough Rock Scool is the first of all the Navajo contract schools. Begun in 1968, the school pioneered in the implementation of bilingual and bicultural curriculum materials. It also shares with Rock Point and Tuba City the distinction of its own curriculum development center. Our preference of Rock Point, in this case, is based on an examination of curriculum materials. Rough Rock's materials feature a greater emphasis on English language-written history and cultural description, rather than explication of cultural knowledge in Navajo. In part, this emphasis is due to the diverse explorations which the school has pursued through the years in determining the kinds of curriculum materials most appropriate.

1-4.4. FORT DEFIANCE PUBLIC SCHOOL

As early as 1975, Fort Defiance Title VII staff vigorously enlisted the aid of NAMDC in obtaining bilingual curriculum materials. However, this school, in sharing with Tuba City the status of public school, has had to contend with its location in an ethnically heterogeneous community. As a result, implementation of bilingual curriculum materials into classroom teaching has been slower. As with other Reservation public schools, many more students do not speak Navajo as a first langauge, than in BIA and contract schools, and this diversity

has tended to slow down broad acceptance of bilingual educational materials by community, despite apparently strong support by the Superintendent and administration. As a result, Rock Point has a competitive advantage in being less dependent on materials development centers, and keeping more staff in the area who can read and write Navajo.

1-4.5. BORREGO PASS COMMUNITY SCHOOL

Initiated in 1975, this school has had less time to develop its own curriculum body. Its relatively smaller size **viz** Rock Point also contributes to a slower development. Finally, while a school can develop and refine materials more rapidly if it has its own development, it is also clear that regular communication with development centers and other schools is also important. Borrego Pass Community School, perhaps because of its size, has had less opportunity for such communication.

1-4.6. LITTLE SINGER COMMUNITY SCHOOL

This school, was finally implemented in 1978, and has begun too recently for consideration here.

1-4. THE DRAMATIC IMPLICATIONS: THE SAD STATE OF NAVAJO EDUCATION

The above survey places in sharp relief the nature of Rock Point's exemplary program, even without a close examination. Rock Point, and other contract schools especially, have had to build bilingual programs with little or no outside help. The Bureau of Indian Affairs' "accepted language of instruction is English with all instruction designed to advance final student

ahievement in the English language." Thus, **unlike the contract schools,** "all initial instruction will be made in English language with provision made as required for follow up presentation in Navajo langauge when the language deficiency becomes a barrier to learning on the part of individual children." No thought is given to teaching Navajo first, and English second.

Also, culture is not a school responsibility, and is to be taught at home. "The school responsibility for maintenance of cultural items is limited to those areas or topics which are acceptable within existing curricular disciplines (science, social studies, math, reading, **etc.**)." (BIA REG 109, Dilcon School, 1977).

Tribal governmental efforts to effect a comprehensive plan which would at least recommend an educational policy for bilingualism was aborted in 1977, and has only this year been reintroduced. It is small surprise, then, that the Tribe is powerless either to support or co-ordinate bilingual program development. Without any coherent policy of their own, they are in no position to influence either the BIA or public schools, and can offer no assistance to Contract Schools.

All contract schools are therefore on their own to effect programs, and face a wide range of resistance--particularly from the BIA. They make their gains at great risk and vulnerability, and with considerable effort.